

By Mr. CALDWELL: A bill (H. R. 9346) for the relief of Georgia S. Melvin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CONNERY: A bill (H. R. 9347) granting a pension to Margaret M. Tupper; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MAPES: A bill (H. R. 9348) granting an increase of pension to Catherine Field; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MURDOCK: A bill (H. R. 9349) for the relief of the Nicolson Seed Farms, a Utah corporation; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. O'NEILL of New Jersey: A bill (H. R. 9350) for the relief of Nathan and Amelia Rice; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky: A bill (H. R. 9351) granting a pension to Ida Webb; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WILCOX: A bill (H. R. 9352) for the relief of Charles Frederick Glass; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9353) for the relief of Earl J. Reed and Giles J. Gentry; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 9354) to authorize the award of the Purple Heart decoration to Ann Celestine Singleton; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

3976. By Mr. BARRY: Resolution of the Consolidated Home and Farm Owners' Mortgage Committee, New York City, endorsing Congressman BARRY's bills (H. R. 8622, H. R. 5365, H. R. 2715, H. R. 8226, and H. R. 9059) concerning Home Owners' Loan Corporation relief; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

3977. By Mr. QUINN: Resolution by Electrical Workers Union 601 and Workers Alliance of East Pittsburgh, Pa., on unemployment relief, also amending neutrality law; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

3978. By Mr. FLAHERTY: Petition of the board of directors of the Boston Grain and Flour Exchange, concerning the train-limit bill; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

3979. By Mr. THOMASON of Texas: Petition of residents of El Paso, Tex., urging passage of House bill 147, known as the train-length bill; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

3980. By Mr. BEITER: Petition of a group of citizens of Clarence Center, Erie County, N. Y., urging enactment of legislation against war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

3981. Also, petition of the Brooklyn Post, No. 2, Jewish War Veterans, Brooklyn, N. Y., urging intercession with the Rumanian Government regarding unjust discrimination against racial and religious minorities; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

3982. By Mr. THURSTON: Petition of residents of northern Iowa, protesting against legislation to require owners of firearms to obtain licenses and to be fingerprinted; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3983. By Mr. QUINN: Resolution of the United Mine Workers of America, Harwick, Pa., requesting an increase in the appropriation for the public-housing program to \$5,000,000; protesting against the interpretation of the National Labor Relations Act as made by the Labor Board; requesting the Federal Government to pass an act to halt the discrimination against men in industry who have attained an age of 45 years; protesting against the alleged "sit down" of capital in certain industries; and endorsing the investigation being made by the Senate Committee on Civil Liberties; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

3984. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Robert L. Owen, requesting the passage of a Senate joint resolution; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

SENATE

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1938

(Legislative day of Wednesday, January 5, 1938)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

THEODORE F. GREEN, a Senator from the State of Rhode Island, appeared in his seat today.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. BARKLEY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Friday, February 4, 1938, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF BILLS

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries, who also announced that the President had approved and signed the following acts:

On January 27, 1938:

S. 2550. An act to permit the printing of black-and-white illustrations of United States and foreign postage stamps for philatelic purposes; and

S. 2940. An act to make confidential certain information furnished to the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, and for other purposes.

On January 29, 1938:

S. 2463. An act to authorize an additional number of medical and dental officers for the Army.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Calloway, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 9306) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1938, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1938, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. LEWIS. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Davis	Johnson, Colo.	Pepper
Andrews	Dieterich	King	Pittman
Ashurst	Donahey	La Follette	Pope
Austin	Duffy	Lee	Radcliffe
Bailey	Ellender	Lewis	Reynolds
Bankhead	Frazier	Lodge	Russell
Barkley	George	Logan	Schwartz
Bilbo	Gerry	Loneragan	Schwellenbach
Bone	Gibson	Lundeen	Sheppard
Borah	Gillette	McAdoo	Shipstead
Brown, N. H.	Glass	McGill	Smathers
Bulkley	Green	McKellar	Smith
Bulow	Guffey	McNary	Thomas, Okla.
Burke	Hale	Maloney	Thomas, Utah
Byrd	Harrison	Miller	Townsend
Brynes	Hatch	Minton	Truman
Capper	Hayden	Murray	Tydings
Caraway	Herring	Neely	Vandenberg
Chavez	Hill	Norris	Van Nuys
Clark	Holt	Nye	Wagner
Connally	Hughes	O'Mahoney	Walsh
Copeland	Johnson, Calif.	Overton	Wheeler

Mr. LEWIS. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BERRY], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. BROWN], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. HITCHCOCK], and the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. MILTON] are detained from the Senate on important public business.

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN] is detained in his State on official business.

Mr. AUSTIN. I announce that the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] is absent on official business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-eight Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE BUSINESS

The VICE PRESIDENT. According to the record made last Friday, the Chair thinks he should recognize this morning the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. BILBO]. With his permission, however, the Chair will recognize other Senators with the understanding that they desire the floor only for the purpose of presenting petitions, introducing bills, submitting resolutions, reports, and requests that matter be printed in the RECORD.

ESTIMATES OF APPROPRIATIONS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate communications from the President of the United States, transmitting estimates of appropriations, which, with the accompanying papers, were referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed, as follows:

Estimates (submitted pursuant to law) by the several executive departments and independent offices to pay claims for damages to privately owned property, in the sum of \$4,725.11 (S. Doc. No. 143);

Records of judgments (submitted pursuant to law) rendered against the Government by district courts under the provisions of law and requiring appropriations for payment, amounting to \$1,200.06 (S. Doc. No. 144);

List of judgments (submitted pursuant to law) rendered by the Court of Claims and requiring appropriations for their payment, amounting to \$46,564.19 (S. Doc. No. 145);

Schedule of claims (submitted pursuant to law) amounting to \$49,995.69, allowed by the General Accounting Office, as covered by certificates of settlement, for the services of the several departments and independent offices (S. Doc. No. 146);

Supplemental estimate for the legislative establishment, under the Government Printing Office, fiscal year 1938, amounting to \$65,715.28 (S. Doc. No. 147); and

Supplemental estimate for the District of Columbia, reservoir, water department, amounting to \$400,000 (S. Doc. No. 148).

MONTREAL-LAKE CHAMPLAIN-HUDSON RIVER WATERWAY

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of State, transmitting, pursuant to law, copy of a letter dated January 4, 1938, from the Chairman of the International Joint Commission (with enclosures) in the matter of an investigation as to the advisability of the improvement of a waterway from Montreal through Lake Champlain to connect with the Hudson River, together with a report on the project that the Commission recommends be considered an interim report, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

NONMAILABILITY OF CERTAIN FIREARMS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the act entitled "An act declaring pistols, revolvers, and other firearms capable of being concealed on the person nonmailable and providing penalty," which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

ORDINANCES, ETC., OF MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF ST. THOMAS AND ST. JOHN

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, copies of ordinances, resolution, and amendment adopted by the Municipal Council of St. Thomas and St. John, and approved by the Governor of the Virgin Islands, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H. R. 9306) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1938, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30,

1938, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a joint resolution of the legislature of the State of Kentucky, favoring an inquiry into the causes of the recent decline in the price of tobacco sold on the Kentucky markets, and also the enactment of legislation in the premises similar to the Agricultural Adjustment Act, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

(See joint resolution printed in full when presented today by Mr. LOGAN.)

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate a petition of sundry citizens, being representatives of corporate and private business and employers of labor, of San Antonio, Tex., favoring the immediate repeal of the undistributed-profits and capital-gains taxes, and the adoption of other measures for the relief of business, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also laid before the Senate a telegram in the nature of a memorial from Morris Stern, of New York City, N. Y., remonstrating against alleged filibustering in the Senate in connection with the consideration of the so-called "anti-lynching bill," which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. TYDINGS presented a resolution adopted by members of the Baltimore (Md.) Association of Credit Men, favoring the immediate repeal of title VI of the District of Columbia Revenue Act of 1937, approved August 17, 1937, imposing a gross receipts tax on the privilege of doing business in the District of Columbia, which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. COPELAND presented a petition of sundry citizens of Brooklyn, N. Y., praying that no reduction be made in the appropriation for the C. M. T. C. for the fiscal year 1939, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the executive board of the Onondaga County (N. Y.) Division, Women's International League For Peace and Freedom, protesting against the making of increased naval appropriations, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

He also presented a resolution adopted by Local No. 18, Aluminum Workers of America, of Massena, N. Y., protesting against the enactment of pending legislation to change or restrict the operation of the National Labor Relations Act, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

He also presented resolutions adopted by the Petroleum Industries Committees of Allegany, Chemung, Rensselaer, Warren, and Washington Counties, in the State of New York, favoring the repeal of Federal gasoline and lubricating-oil taxes, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented letters in the nature of memorials from Amadeus J. Ward, president of the New York Archdiocesan Union of the Holy Name Society; Gerard L. Carroll, vice chairman of the National Catholic Alumni Federation, Middle Atlantic States Group; and Mrs. M. E. Tanguy, all of New York City, N. Y., protesting against the recent action of certain Members of the Congress in sending a message extending greetings to members of the Cortes of the so-called Loyalist Barcelona Government of Spain, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the Buffalo, N. Y., regional office of the Committee for Industrial Organization, favoring the enactment of the bill (H. R. 1543) to amend section 24 of the Immigration Act of 1917 relating to the compensation of certain Immigration and Naturalization Service employees, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Immigration.

He also presented a resolution adopted by Pierstown Grange, No. 793, Patrons of Husbandry, at Cooperstown, N. Y., protesting against the enactment of pending legislation to limit the length of freight trains, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Trumansburg, N. Y., praying for the enactment of legislation to regulate the block booking and blind selling of motion-picture films, and also the enactment of legislation to regulate liquor advertising, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the Chamber of Commerce of Walton, N. Y., protesting against the enactment of the bill (S. 3072) to regulate interstate and foreign commerce by prescribing the conditions under which corporations may engage or may be formed to engage in such commerce, to provide for and define additional powers and duties of the Federal Trade Commission, to assist the several States in improving labor conditions and enlarging purchasing power for goods sold in such commerce, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a resolution adopted by Pierstown Grange, No. 793, Patrons of Husbandry, at Cooperstown, N. Y., protesting against the admission of Hawaii to statehood, which was referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

Mr. LOGAN. I present for printing in the RECORD and appropriate reference a joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of Kentucky memorializing the Congress to make an investigation with regard to the prices of tobacco.

The joint resolution was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, as follows:

A joint resolution of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, session 1938, memorializing the President of the United States, the Congress of the United States, and the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States to take such action as may be necessary to relieve the distress of the tobacco farmers of Kentucky and adjoining States caused by the recent sharp decline in the price of tobacco by causing a careful examination and investigation to be made of the tobacco companies as to why said companies suddenly reduced the prices paid for tobacco by introducing and enacting legislation similar to the Agricultural Adjustment Act so as to control and govern the production of tobacco in the Tobacco Belt, and to take any further action deemed advisable to restore a reasonable market price for tobacco

Whereas when the tobacco markets of this State opened around December 1, 1937, and prices paid to the tobacco growers of this State by the tobacco companies bidding for same on the markets were fair and reasonable and were such as to enable the tobacco growers in this and adjoining States to receive a fair return on their investment and labor; and

Whereas when said markets were reopened after the Christmas holidays the prices for tobacco bid by said tobacco companies showed a marked decline in comparison to prices theretofore bid for the 1937 crop; and

Whereas no reasonable or apparent necessity existed for paying such reduced prices for said tobaccos; and

Whereas the Agricultural Adjustment Act passed by the National Congress and approved by the President of the United States and in operation until declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States by a divided vote, was of such benefit and advantage to the tobacco farmers of Kentucky and adjoining States that they were able to and did control the production of tobacco, conserve their soil, and to receive a fair and reasonable price for their tobaccos: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, session 1938, That the President of the United States, the Congress of the United States, and the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States be memorialized to take such action as may be necessary to promptly ascertain the cause of the recent decline in the price of tobacco sold on the tobacco markets of Kentucky, and to further cause to be introduced in the National House of Congress, legislation similar to the Agricultural Adjustment Act; and be it further

Resolved, That one copy each of this resolution be forwarded by the clerk of the senate, to the President of the United States, to the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, to the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States, and to the Senators and Representatives of Kentucky in the United States Congress.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, I present copy of a motion adopted by the Massachusetts Selectmen's Association, which I ask may be treated as in the nature of a petition, printed in the RECORD, and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

There being no objection, the paper was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Moved: That the Association of Massachusetts Selectmen in annual meeting assembled do most earnestly recommend that all W. P. A. work in the United States cease as of June 1, 1938, and that a decreasing scale of direct payments to the various States for redistribution to local welfare departments be substituted therefor; said payments for the first year not to exceed in total one-half the sum expended on W. P. A. during 1937, and to cease entirely within a 4-year period, a copy of this motion with a letter of explanation to be forwarded to both Senators and all Representatives of Massachusetts in Congress.

PETITIONS IN BEHALF OF ANTILYNCHING BILL

During the delivery of Mr. BILBO's speech, which appears later in today's RECORD,

Mr. VAN NUYS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. BILBO. I yield to the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. VAN NUYS. I ask unanimous consent, without interfering with the status of the eloquent junior Senator from Mississippi, to present at this time a great bundle of petitions, probably 25,000 in number, collected by the American Society for Race Tolerance, petitioning the Senate for the passage of the instant bill.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SCHWELLENBACH in the chair). The Senator from Indiana asks unanimous consent that without displacing the Senator from Mississippi, or changing his status on the floor, the Senator from Indiana may present certain petitions. Does the Senator desire to have them noted in the RECORD?

Mr. VAN NUYS. I simply ask that their filing be noted, and that they lie on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I do not understand that the Senator is asking that the petitions be printed in extenso.

Mr. VAN NUYS. Oh, no; simply that they lie on the table.

Mr. CONNALLY. Merely that they be abbreviated in the RECORD under the heading of Petitions and Memorials?

Mr. VAN NUYS. That is correct.

Mr. CONNALLY. I have no objection to the Senator filing them in the regular way as petitions or memorials; but I should not agree to their being printed in extenso in the RECORD.

Mr. VAN NUYS. The Senator from Indiana is not asking for that.

Mr. BILBO. Before the Senator presents the petitions, let me ask whether he will vouch for the genuineness of all the signatures on the petitions?

Mr. VAN NUYS. Naturally, I cannot vouch for the genuineness of all the signatures; but this is a very reputable society of white and colored men. I think there are two sponsors who are colored men, and the others are white. Three Governors—the Governors of Kansas, Iowa, and North Dakota—and the Honorable James W. Gerard are among the sponsors.

Mr. BILBO. What is the name of the society?

Mr. VAN NUYS. The American Society for Race Tolerance, with national headquarters at 1165 Broadway, New York.

Mr. BILBO. May I ask the Senator another question? Is that the society of which this fair-skinned, blue-eyed Negro from Georgia, White by name, is the head?

Mr. VAN NUYS. Does the Senator refer to Walter White?

Mr. BILBO. Yes.

Mr. VAN NUYS. No; this is a different society.

Mr. BILBO. A different racket? Very well.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, further reserving the right to object, did I correctly understand the Senator from Indiana to say that three Governors are signatories of these petitions?

Mr. VAN NUYS. No; three Governors are sponsors of the society.

Mr. CONNALLY. How many Governors are there in the United States? There are 48, I believe. If the Senator has only three, I do not object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Indiana? The Chair hears none.

The petition will be received, noted in the RECORD, and lie on the table.

(The petitions presented by Mr. VAN NUYS, numerous signed by sundry citizens of the United States, pray for the enactment of the so-called Wagner-Van Nuys antilynching bill.)

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

Mr. ADAMS, from the Committee on Appropriations, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 9306) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1938, and prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1938, and for other purposes, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 1320) thereon.

Mr. WHEELER, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 2920) for the relief of J. Harry Walker, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 1321) thereon.

Mr. MINTON, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 2883) for the relief of George H. Lowe, Jr., reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 1322) thereon.

EXECUTIVE REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

As in executive session,

Mr. McKELLAR, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, reported favorably the nomination of Thomas F. Burke to be postmaster at Barrington, R. I., in place of H. E. Munroe (incumbent's commission expired Mar. 17, 1936), which was ordered to be placed on the Executive Calendar.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. TRUMAN:

A bill (S. 3397) to amend title 45, chapter 2, section 51, of the Code of Laws of the United States; and

A bill (S. 3398) to amend title 45, chapter 2, sections 51-59, of the Code of Laws of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MINTON:

A bill (S. 3399) granting a pension to Hattie B. Dare (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GLASS:

A bill (S. 3400) to extend from June 16, 1938, to June 16, 1939, the period within which loans made prior to June 16, 1933, to executive officers of member banks of the Federal Reserve System may be renewed or extended; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. McNARY:

A bill (S. 3401) to further extend the period of time during which final proof may be offered by homestead and desert-land entrymen; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys; and

A bill (S. 3402) authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Treasury to reimburse Carrol D. Ward for the losses sustained by him by reason of the negligence of an employee of the Civilian Conservation Corps; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. TYDINGS:

A bill (S. 3403) for the relief of James W. Rogers;

A bill (S. 3404) for the relief of Elizabeth Cory; and

(By request.) A bill (S. 3405) conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims of the United States to hear, examine, adjudicate, and render judgment on the claim of the legal representative of the estate of Rexford M. Smith; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WALSH:

A bill (S. 3406) to confer jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of Allen Pope against the United States; to the Committee on Claims; and

A bill (S. 3407) authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to provide for the construction of a vessel to be furnished

to the State of Massachusetts for the benefit of the Massachusetts Nautical School, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

(Mr. VANDENBERG introduced Senate bill 3408, which was referred to the Committee on Finance, and appears under a separate heading.)

(Mr. WAGNER introduced Senate bill 3409, which was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency and appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. WHEELER:

A bill (S. 3410) for the relief of Miles A. Barclay; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. NEELY:

A bill (S. 3411) to authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the seventy-fifth birthday of the State of West Virginia; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. PEPPER:

A bill (S. 3412) to amend the Act entitled "An Act to provide for the disposition, control, and use of surplus real property acquired by Federal agencies, and for other purposes," approved August 27, 1935 (Public, No. 351, 74th Cong.), and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. KING:

A bill (S. 3413) to repeal the Neutrality Act of August 31, 1935, as amended; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A bill (S. 3414) to provide for the relief of the Nicholson Seed Farms, a Utah corporation; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. O'MAHONEY:

A bill (S. 3415) to purchase certain private lands within the Shoshone (Wind River) Indian Reservation; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 3416) providing for the addition of certain lands to the Black Hills National Forest in the State of Wyoming; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. O'MAHONEY and Mr. SCHWARTZ:

A bill (S. 3417) for the relief of the State of Wyoming; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado:

A bill (S. 3418) for the relief of Shelton H. Streater; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 3419) authorizing the appointment of George L. Baker as a captain of infantry, United States Army, Officers' Reserve Corps, to be placed upon the inactive list; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

AMENDMENT OF SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to introduce a bill embracing certain amendments to the Social Security Act, which I ask to have referred to the Finance Committee. Inasmuch as the amendments are technical in nature, I ask that a brief statement explaining them may be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The bill (S. 3408) to amend the Social Security Act, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Finance.

The statement presented by Mr. VANDENBERG is as follows:

1. Hold pay-roll taxes for old-age retirement benefits to 1 percent on employers and employees, instead of the existing graduation up to a total of 6 percent—until Congress reviews the whole subject at a time when there is adequate experience upon which to base a conclusive opinion. Incidentally, the effect would be to hold down the \$47,000,000,000 full reserve to an amount merely sufficient to retire a large portion of the national debt.

2. Requiring pay-roll taxes to go automatically into the old-age reserve account and providing a Federal guaranty for any deficit. This would partially cure the present indefensible practice of mingling these pay-roll collections with general Treasury revenues that are spent for general purposes.

3. Requiring that the old-age pension reserves, insofar as possible, shall be used to retire existing Federal indebtedness rather than as an excuse and shield for new bonds and bigger debts, and limiting the issuance of any new or special bonds, for this purpose, to a 5-year maturity.

CAPITAL OF COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION

During the delivery of Mr. BILBO's speech, Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to introduce a bill for appropriate reference, without the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. BILBO] losing the floor.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered; and the bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3409) to maintain unimpaired the capital of the Commodity Credit Corporation at \$100,000,000, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

AMENDMENT OF TARIFF ACT—CIGARS

Mr. PEPPER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 8099) to amend certain administrative provisions of the Tariff Act of 1930, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed.

AMENDMENT TO FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. GILLETTE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to House bill 9306, the first deficiency appropriation bill, 1938, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed, as follows:

On page 2, after line 14, to insert the following:

"FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

"Printing and binding: For an additional amount for printing and binding not to exceed \$28,232."

ALLEGED AGREEMENTS BETWEEN UNITED STATES AND OTHER NATIONS

During the delivery of Mr. BILBO's speech,

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a moment?

Mr. BILBO. I shall be delighted to yield to the Senator from California for a question.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I ask that the Senator yield to me for the submission of a very brief resolution without in any degree affecting his rights and that the floor may be returned to him immediately thereafter.

Mr. BILBO. I shall be delighted to yield for that purpose.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, it is not contemplated by the Senator from California that there shall be any action on his resolution at this time?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Oh, no!

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SMATHERS in the chair). The Senator from California asks unanimous consent that he may submit a resolution at this time. The Chair hearing no objection, consent will be given.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to state the request more fully. The Senator from California asks unanimous consent that he may submit this resolution without in any way impairing the rights of the Senator from Mississippi.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California asks that the floor may be yielded to him for the purpose of submitting a resolution without the Senator from Mississippi losing any of his rights. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. BILBO. I shall be delighted to yield under those circumstances.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. President, I submit a resolution, and ask simply that it be read—it is not lengthy—and then that it lie on the table and await its turn until it shall come up at a subsequent session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 229) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of State be, and he is hereby, requested, if it be not incompatible with the public interest, to advise the Senate (a) whether or not any alliance, agreement, or understanding exists or is contemplated with Great Britain relating to war or the possibility of war; (b) whether or not there is any understanding or agreement, express or implied, for the use of the Navy of the United States in conjunction with any other nation; (c)

whether or not there is any understanding or agreement, express or implied, with any nation, that the United States Navy, or any portion of it, should police or patrol or be transferred to any particular waters or any particular ocean.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I have no objection to the resolution lying on the table for the present; but it is a character of resolution which I think should go to the Committee on Foreign Relations whenever it is reached for consideration.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. No, Mr. President; I shall oppose that reference. I will let the resolution lie on the table, however, until it shall come up. Then the Senator from Kentucky may present his motion, and I shall be one Senator voting against it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the resolution will be printed and lie on the table.

TESTIMONIAL DINNER TO SENATOR DUFFY—ADDRESS BY SENATOR BARKLEY AND LETTER FROM PRESIDENT

[Mr. MINTON asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD the address delivered by Senator BARKLEY on the occasion of the testimonial dinner to Senator DUFFY, at Fond du Lac, Wis., on February 5, 1938, and also a letter written by the President of the United States in honor of the same occasion, which appear in the Appendix.]

ARMAMENTS OR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION—ADDRESS BY SENATOR THOMAS OF UTAH

[Mr. POPE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a radio address delivered by Senator THOMAS of Utah on February 5, 1938, in the regular World Economic Cooperation series of broadcasts, which appears in the Appendix.]

FORUM ON WORLD PEACE THROUGH WORLD TRADE—MESSAGES AND ADDRESSES DELIVERED

[Mr. THOMAS of Utah asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD messages from the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Commerce, and several short addresses delivered at the forum on World Peace Through World Trade, held at New York City, January 18, 1938, which appear in the Appendix.]

INTERNAL-REVENUE COLLECTIONS AND RELIEF EXPENDITURES

[Mr. TOWNSEND asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a corrected table making a comparison between total Federal relief expenditures and revenue collections for the fiscal years 1933 to 1937, inclusive, which appears in the Appendix.]

THE NEED OF A SPIRITUAL AWAKENING IN MODERN LIFE—ADDRESS BY CHARLES C. SELECMAN

[Mr. CONNALLY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by Charles C. Selecman, president of the Southern Methodist University, of Dallas, Tex., on January 12, 1938, on the subject The Need of a Spiritual Awakening in Modern Life.]

FRATERNITY IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOCIAL ORDER—ADDRESS BY MSGR. FULTON J. SHEEN

[Mr. WALSH asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a radio address by Rt. Rev. Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen, entitled "Fraternity," delivered under the auspices of the National Council of Catholic Men, which appears in the Appendix.]

A CONSUMER'S VIEW OF T. V. A.—ARTICLE BY GEORGE F. MILTON

[Mr. MCKELLAR asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article by George F. Milton, entitled "A Consumer's View of T. V. A.," reprinted from the Atlantic Monthly for November 1937, which appears in the Appendix.]

THE MERCHANT MARINE

[Mr. GIBSON asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article by William McFee relative to the merchant marine, published in the New York Sun of Saturday, January 29, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

TRADE AND PEACE

[Mr. BARKLEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article by Livingston Hartley on the subject Trade and Peace, published in the Washington Post of February 5, 1938, which appears in the Appendix.]

AGRICULTURAL RELIEF—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I send to the desk a unanimous-consent request for which I ask immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The request for unanimous consent will be read.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in parallel columns, for the use of the Senate, the bill H. R. 8505—the farm relief bill—as passed by the Senate and as agreed to by the conferees.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the unanimous-consent request of the Senator from Oregon?

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, let me ask the Senator a question. Does the request contemplate printing the bill as passed by the House and as passed by the Senate?

Mr. McNARY. Oh, no; the language is perfectly clear. The course is one that is usually taken on an occasion of this kind. I desire to have printed in parallel columns the bill as passed by the Senate and as reported by the conferees, so that we may have some idea of what is in the conference report.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. BARKLEY. I have no objection to that course; but I was wondering why the Senator limited the request to the Senate bill, because the conferees had under consideration both the Senate bill and the House bill. I have no objection to the request as proposed.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, since we are more familiar with the Senate bill than with the House bill, and the conference report is the matter upon which we should act, I thought what I have suggested would be sufficient; but, personally, if it will not involve too much trouble or expense, I should like to have the three measures printed in parallel columns, agreeably to the suggestion made by the able Senator from Kentucky. So I modify my request in that respect.

Mr. POPE. Mr. President, we could not quite understand what was going on. Is it the request of the Senator that all three of the documents be printed—the House bill, the Senate bill, and the conference report?

Mr. McNARY. That the bill as reported by the conference committee, the House bill, and the Senate bill be printed in parallel columns, so that, if possible, we may have some notion of what has been done.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Oregon, as modified? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

PREVENTION OF AND PUNISHMENT FOR LYNCHING

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1507) to assure to persons within the jurisdiction of every State the equal protection of the laws, and to punish the crime of lynching.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, last week we took a vote on the question of laying aside the pending measure and proceeding with the legislative program. It was very gratifying to me to know that there were 52 Senators who wanted to hear the remainder of my 30-day speech. I have 28 days more to my credit; and I take that vote as a very high compliment, and as showing an interest in what I am trying to tell the Senate and the country.

In the beginning today, I desire to call the attention of the Senate to some very interesting information I have just received from Chicago. Possibly some of you have not discovered just what has been taking place in this country during recent months, and what is taking place today. For 3 days I have been trying to drive home the fact that the white American people are divided into two classes. You either believe in amalgamation of the whites with the blacks or you are in favor of separation of the two races. When I say you believe in amalgamation, I do not mean that any of you are parties to it; but it is an undeniable fact, an irrefutable fact, as shown by 10,000 years of authentic history, that wherever and whenever two races have tried to live side by side, in the course of time complete amalgamation has taken place.

If that is true, and you are willing for the whites and the blacks to live side by side in America, then you are in favor of your race, the white race, amalgamating with the black race. You are either in favor of that or you will join me and a great many present-day Negro leaders in an attempt to bring about a separation of the white man from the black man by the repatriation of the Negro back to his motherland or his fatherland, Africa.

These matters are pertinent to the pending measure, because, after all, this lynching bill deals with a race problem, admittedly so. Oh, it is said that "the bill affects every State in the Union"; but the press of the country and those who are advocating this measure who are honest and frank will tell you that it is intended primarily for the Southern States, or the Black Belt of the Nation.

After emphasizing the solution of the lynching question, which also is the solution of all the racial questions we shall have in the future, I entertained the hope that I would be here on the floor of the Senate when some of you Senators from the States north of the Mason and Dixon's line will be here on the floor asking the southern Senators to join hands with you in helping you to solve the racial friction you will have in your own communities, in your own States.

It has not been many months since our Senators from the Pacific coast were here on their knees begging Congress to do something about helping them solve the racial problems and troubles they were having in the Pacific States with the yellow man, the Japanese, as well as the Chinese. You may feel safe and secure today in your sections where you have not such a predominance of the Negro race; but I make the prophecy that in a few years you or your successors will be here on the floor of the Senate begging the South to help you solve the racial troubles that are springing up in your own communities.

Here is the information from Chicago to which I refer. This letter is dated February 2, 1938. It is not old stuff. It was written by the president and secretary of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia—One God, One Country, One People; to Return People of African Descent to Their Motherland, Africa.

The letter reads as follows:

CHICAGO, ILL., February 2, 1938.

DEAR SIR: We thank you for your interest shown in our petition, in your speech against the antilynch bill, your three points, drawn as follows:

1. Draw the color line.
2. Set the race in some island in the sea.
3. Send them back to Africa.

Those were the three solutions I suggested for the settlement of this question. Now, listen to this man, the president and spokesman of an organization which today has over a million members of the Negro race:

Your third solution—

That is, back to Africa—

is highly endorsed by the 1,000,000 members of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia. This will not alone settle the race problem in America, but will also solve the problems of unemployment—

I have been telling you for 3 days that this solution of the race question, the lynching question, and all the racial frictions that you are going to have will not only solve the race problem, but it will settle the problem of unemployment in this country—

problems which threaten the very foundations of the tranquillity of this Nation.

The recent census of unemployment in this country shows in the neighborhood of eight or ten million persons unemployed. Just the other day there was a great meeting in Chrysler Square in Michigan of 100,000 or 200,000 unemployed persons; and the unemployment question is going to keep bobbing up all through the years.

Here is a solution of the race question and of the problem presented by the antilynching bill. Two questions can be solved at one time, the race problem and the unemployment problem.

There are millions of us who abhor alms, both private and public. We know that in our ancestral country we can carve a frugal but decent civilization of our own in that favorable climate and virgin soil.

The Negro is not afraid to go to Africa.

This organization is made up of the industrial masses—farmers and men of skill, and in the land of our forefathers we will not only make a living for ourselves but will be free from race prejudice and discrimination.

We highly approve your opposition to the mixture of the two races, for we, likewise, detest the same thing.

This is a Negro talking.

For a long period of time the mixing of the two races came from one side, the white man and the colored woman. But now it is coming from both sides. Since communism has established itself in this country it is quite common to see a white woman rocking black babies.

Senators will remember that I stated a few days ago that in Illinois and Michigan, where miscegenation or intermarriage has been practiced for a number of years, there are several thousand couples where Negroes have married white girls and white men have married Negro girls. They cross both ways.

We positively resent the mixture from either side and the only way to stop it is to separate the two races.

This is the conclusion of the Negroes who have given thought to this question.

We hope you will continue to push to the top this deportation measure, for this, and this alone, will save both your race and mine.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, will the able Senator from Mississippi allow an interrogation?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Mississippi yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. BILBO. I am delighted to yield.

Mr. LEWIS. Does the writer intimate that it is the desire of the Government to provide funds to place these Negroes where they wish to go? Is there anything in the communication which indicates the particular locality where they wish to locate themselves? Finally, is there a suggestion that the colored people, of an intelligent order, as in my city of Chicago, wish to exchange Chicago for Africa?

Mr. BILBO. Yes; that is all covered in the memorial to President Roosevelt, which I shall read after I finish the introductory remarks.

Mr. LEWIS. I regret disturbing the Senator.

Mr. BILBO. They will be very anxious to swap Chicago for Africa, as I will show before I conclude.

There are several million of us who will go back to Africa by our own consent.

I have never suggested that any forcible means be employed to send the Negroes back to Africa. I shall show in a moment that if we allow those who desire to go and who are begging to go, this crowd of obstructionists, this crowd of Negroes who do not want to go, will have to follow as a matter of course.

There are several million of us who will go back to Africa by our own consent.

Listen to this:

When the masses are once sent away, the oppositionists—

That is, the highbrows, the mulattoes, the octoroons, the Negroes who are exploiting their own people—

which are the classes, will be forced to follow. They cannot exploit the white people as they do their own.

We may find some Negroes among the octoroons and the quadroons and the mulattoes who would be very much opposed to any proposition of repatriating the Negro to his fatherland, because they are the "top boys," who have their rackets, and who are exploiting the masses of their own race. When we once send back to Africa the masses, the ones who desire to go, the others will have to follow, because these Negroes cannot exploit the white masses of this country.

We are enclosing a copy of our memorial, sent to President Roosevelt on November 14, 1933. We will be glad to hear from you at your own convenience. Our signatures are growing rapidly.

Respectfully,

THE PEACE MOVEMENT OF ETHIOPIA,
Mrs. M. M. L. GORDON, President,
EDMOND HOLLIDAY, Secretary.

Let us see about this memorial. These Negroes have filed a petition with President Roosevelt. At the beginning of the depression they wrote the President a letter. Let us see what they propose to do. Let us see what they want.

A memorial

Whereas the Congress has empowered the President to exercise his judgment in the present crisis in a manner suited to the exalted office and provided him with the means to execute his plans for the amelioration of distress and the restoring of normalcy; and

Whereas the distress of the unemployed is most severely felt by such of the uneducated American Negroes who abhor alms, both public and private, in any guise; and

Whereas the removal of a half million of the poorest from a competitive labor market at this time would tend to relieve to that extent the condition and opportunities of the remainder:

Therefore we, the subjoined signatories, American citizens of African extraction, individually and collectively, join in respectfully petitioning the President to consider our proposal, confident that his conclusions will be for the best interests of our families and of the community at large.

WHO WE ARE

We desire to make it clear, first of all, that this is not a "racket" or scheme for the enrichment or self-glorification of any group or individual. The signatories pay no dues or other fees and the officers of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia serve entirely without pay, meeting their expenses wholly out of their own meager resources. Nor do our plans involve the taking over of any Government funds. We propose that the Federal Government itself meet directly such initial expenditures as launching of adopted plans involves.

Listen to this:

We are of the so-called North.

These are not southern Negroes. Nearly all the Negroes of the South would go.

We are of the so-called North, most of us having been driven from a cruel and avowedly intolerant South to the cities and towns of the Middle West, "the bread basket of America," without a just opportunity to earn a livelihood in our abject new state. We are the simple-minded, sincere lowly, law-abiding workers who have maintained traditions of simple honesty, industry, and frugality as much from choice as from necessity. Few of us have any education, but we have learned not to heed the blandishments of self-seeking politicians, impostors, and the unworthy and undesirable products of a hectic civilization that is foreign to our nature.

In other words, this class of Negroes is not going to listen to the politicians any longer.

We recognize the fact that there are exploiting elements in partisan politics, in industry and commerce, and even among our own people who oppose the movement laid before the President hereinafter. But the wreckage of cupidity and intrigue strew the spectacular path of our race wherever a concerted movement for our betterment has fallen prey to crafty leadership in the past. We have avoided even our own self-seeking racial leaders.

In other words, they did not call on Walter White, of New York.

We have a vivid realization of the hardships and toil that the fruition of our plans in a strange land entails. But we are inured to toil and the ultimate goal of social and economic freedom gives us heart to welcome the hardships for our children's sake.

For these reasons we are not sponsored by self-styled leaders and come before the President unheralded but with alert minds and clean, calloused hands. Should the President require further information about our numbers, our need, our earnestness, and fitness for the proposed undertaking, we entreat him to seek such information among those who hold themselves in readiness to join in the execution of the plans hereinafter proposed.

WHAT WE ASK

This answers the question of the Senator from Illinois:

We were torn from our original homes and kindred people against our will; but the pride of ancestry and homing instinct survive the whip and social ostracism: they are as strong in our bosom as they are in the hearts of other races. We fully understand that social and political equality of races is as repugnant to the dominant race in America as it is to the dominant races

elsewhere in the world. Yet race consciousness and contempt for previous servitude bid fair always to oppose each other at the behest of those who trade on them. The ever possible bloodshed is as abhorrent to our stricken people as it is to other law-abiding citizens.

Hungry, cold, and miserable, the pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness in America appears futile. Given an opportunity in our own ancestral Africa, the knowledge of farming and simple farm machinery and implements, which we have acquired here, would enable us to carve a frugal but decent livelihood out of the virgin soil and favorable climate of Liberia or such other well-disposed country where the Federal Government, in its wisdom, might acquire a footing for us.

They are expecting to go to Liberia, but they will go anywhere in Africa that the Government might provide.

We most respectfully ask that the Federal Government negotiate with the Liberian Government for such land as existing treaty rights entitle us to, sufficient to colonize the entire body of the signatories hereto and finance the movement to the extent desirable for ultimate success. The details of our projected plans have been worked out tentatively, subject to the revision of a benign government.

They are ready to go.

We respectfully ask that the President graciously have this matter investigated now, with a view to fulfilling the expressed desires of Abraham Lincoln in this respect. We are a liability now, and any cost of this project, no matter how great, would still, we sincerely believe, be a sound investment for the American people. We might require the guidance of some of the Departments of the Federal Government, for a brief period. But, even if that be denied us, we could acquire ourselves with credit to the land of our tutelage, provided only the material aid is supplied to meet the first financial and mechanical requirements. A selective army of pioneers can be recruited from our ranks for the preparatory work on the ground.

I might stop in my reading to make the statement right here that that was exactly Abraham Lincoln's idea when he called the conference of freed Negroes in the White House and asked for volunteers who would go out as pioneers, as messengers, as harbingers, go onto the land, look it over, and make their report, as did the faithful spies at one time in Biblical history, who went into the promised land and brought back their report, and also great bunches of grapes.

We have no Utopian dreams of elevating the entire Negro race, no disconcerting requests in behalf of those Afro-Americans who prefer to remain here. We submit only what we consider a practical and practicable remedy for an acute ailment of American social and economic life. We, the subjoined and accompanying signatories, merely ask respectfully that we be eliminated from an overcrowded labor market and given a helping hand in establishing such social and economic independence as we are fitted for—establishing it where it will give no offense and where it may serve as an object lesson to tempt those who remain.

The colonial activity of America has always been based on benevolent paternalism and we respectfully ask that this administration interest itself in like manner in behalf of these Africans whose forebears were brought here forcibly and who are now stranded here amid uncongenial surroundings.

We await the call.

THE PEACE MOVEMENT OF ETHIOPIA,
MRS. M. M. L. GORDON, President,
EDMOND HOLLIDAY, Secretary.

The PRESIDENT,

The White House, Washington, D. C.

Dated at Chicago, Ill., November 15, 1933.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. LEWIS. I ask the able Senator where the headquarters of this organization is. Does it seem to be in Chicago?

Mr. BILBO. The headquarters is in Chicago. The executive president lives at 4451 South State Street. That is the only address given on the stationery.

Mr. LEWIS. That is in the only colored congressional district we have represented by a colored Representative.

Mr. BILBO. Yes. The address is 4451 South State Street. Of course, one would naturally expect that the Black Belt, which sent a Negro to the House of Representatives, should be the leader in such a movement. The memorial says it is backed up by over a million Negroes who have already made tentative arrangements and are ready to go. However, there

are Negroes of a certain class or element who are obstructionists to this great idea of repatriating the Negro in his fatherland in Africa, and one will generally find that they are the high mulattoes, the octoroons, who have a record of profiteering upon the masses of the Negro race. They are satisfied. Those Negroes who favor repatriation say, "If you will send the masses to Africa, then that class which is now standing out as obstructionists will have to follow, because they cannot thrive in this country by trying to exploit the white masses as they are now exploiting the black masses."

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, I listened with great interest to the reading of the document, but, knowing that the able Senator from Mississippi has omitted nothing, I was most attracted by the fact that there is no advocacy of the pending measure in the communication he read. There is neither advocacy of the antilynching bill, nor any reference to it, which would in any way indicate that these particular representatives are for or against it. Am I correct in that statement?

Mr. BILBO. I beg the Senator's pardon. Will he repeat the question?

Mr. LEWIS. I was attracted to the Senator's reading, and, listening with great attentiveness, I observed, if I am not in error, that there was nothing in this communication advocating the antilynching bill, or any expression in its favor. There is no expression contained in it one way or the other with regard to the antilynching bill.

Mr. BILBO. Most certainly not, except that the letter addressed to me makes this statement:

Your third solution—

I am trying to solve this antilynching problem because I know that we are going to have an antilynching measure before the Congress as long as the Negro can vote north of the Mason and Dixon's line. I am trying to get it out of the way once for all, and my solution is the repatriation of the Negro. Get him out. Then we will not have any antilynching bill. Then we will not have any filibuster. [Laughter.]

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. Let me complete my answer to the question of the Senator from Illinois.

The communication says:

Your third solution is highly endorsed by the 1,000,000 members of the Peace Movement of Ethiopia. This will not alone settle the race problem in America but will also solve the problems of unemployment.

In other words, the solution I am offering will solve the race problem. This bill represents a race problem, and the writer so understands it, and every Negro knows it is a race problem. Whether the whites do or not I do not know.

I shall be glad to yield to the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. SMATHERS. Where did the Senator's ancestors come from when this country was settled?

Mr. BILBO. My ancestors?

Mr. SMATHERS. Yes.

Mr. BILBO. I am half French and half Irish. My maternal ancestors came from France and my paternal ancestors from Ireland.

Mr. SMATHERS. How would the Senator react to a proposal that he be gathered up down in Mississippi or in Washington and shipped back to Ireland or to France?

Mr. BILBO. How is that? [Laughter.]

Mr. SMATHERS. How would the Senator react to a proposal that he be gathered up down in Mississippi or here in Washington and shipped back to France?

Mr. BILBO. I would object, because my father's and my mother's people were the people who helped to take this country away from the Indians. It is ours by conquest. The country is ours, and our ancestors paid a price for it. Many of them were scalped in the effort, and they paid for it dearly. They took it away from the Indians, and the Negro did not have a thing to do with it.

Mr. President, I repeat that any thoughtful Senator or any other thoughtful citizen of this country who is willing to investigate, who is willing to study, who is willing to make a research, whose mind is open and willing to learn history—and about the only light we have to travel by is the light of experience of the past—will be forced to the inevitable conclusion that if the two races continue to live side by side amalgamation is going to take place in this country. We have been doing business here for 300 years. I think the first settlement was at Jamestown in 1607, and the settlers started to bring in Negroes as soon as they arrived. The Negroes have been with us only 300 years from the time their ancestors first came here, when they were as black as the ace of spades and had no white blood in them.

What has happened in 300 years? There are in the United States 12,000,000 Negroes, and half of them have white blood in them now; and if half of them in 300 years have white blood in them, what will happen in the next 300 years? History shows that the process of mixing, interbreeding, intermarriage is going on. Some of the law-makers in the State legislatures are so anxious to obtain control in their political fights and in their party opposition to each other, and in struggles they are so anxious to control the Negro vote that in some of the States they actually have passed laws legalizing the marriage of Negroes with whites. They not only favor it personally but by the acts of their State legislatures they have legalized the interbreeding of the races. But, as I have said frequently, I think it is not the legal interbreeding that is bringing about so much amalgamation in this country; it is the illegitimate interbreeding.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Can the Senator from Mississippi tell us where that illegitimate interbreeding is taking place, in what sections of the United States?

Mr. BILBO. All over the United States, wherever a Negro is found. It is just as bad in New Jersey as it is in Mississippi. Wherever the two races are found side by side it occurs. That is my whole story, that is my whole theme, that wherever they are side by side they will mix. Down in Kentucky, where Henry Clay led the fight to bring about the repatriation of the Negro from 1820 to 1850, there is as much interbreeding as there is in any State in the American Union. Some things have taken place down there which are awful.

I am trying to bring to the attention of the Senate and of the country the question of repatriation, which is the only solution. There is one element of the Caucasian race which believes in race purity, and believes in keeping pure the blood strain of the Caucasian. That element knows that amalgamation is going to take place, and that it will not be many years before we have a blending, a coalescing, a getting together or combination of the pure whites of the South, of the North, of the East, and of the West, when the great white race shall speak as one against the amalgamation that is taking place now in this country.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I shall be glad to yield.

Mr. CHAVEZ. I understood the Senator to state that amalgamation is taking place.

Mr. BILBO. Plenty of it.

Mr. CHAVEZ. So, it must be a two-sided proposition.

Mr. BILBO. That is admitted. It is legalized in some States.

Mr. CHAVEZ. The only way to get rid of that condition would be to send the Negro away.

Mr. BILBO. That is the only way to stop it. If the Senator knows of any other way, I should appreciate hearing of it. We fight over the antilynching bill, and we talk about race friction. So-called civil rights bills are passed by some of the States. The Philadelphia Record urges a national bill for civil rights. In all these controversies no one has dared to offer any solution. No one has offered any

solution to prevent the amalgamation that we know is taking place.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Across the Potomac River in Virginia there is buried one whom we all revere. Suppose it were to be found out some day that the Unknown Soldier happens to be a colored man. Would the Senator be in favor of sending him back to Liberia?

Mr. BILBO. I am perfectly willing to keep the dead ones here. [Laughter.] Their days of amalgamation are over.

Since I shall continue to urge the repatriation of the Negro, and since more than 1,000,000 of them have petitioned the Government to bring about repatriation, and since I know that there are many millions more, especially in the South, who would gladly join in a program of repatriation, I want to give to the Senate and to the country a brief history of just what has taken place in this country in an effort to repatriate the Negro. I am indebted to the Honorable Earnest Sevier Cox, of Richmond, Va., for the very excellent history which he has furnished me. It begins away back in the early days of our history.

First, I desire to invite attention to the Proclamation of Emancipation by Abraham Lincoln. A great many people, without investigating, think that Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation freed all the Negroes in America. This is what Lincoln said:

I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that * * * it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress, to again recommend * * * the immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery * * * and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon the continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the government existing there, will be continued; that on the 1st day of January, A. D. 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State, or any designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforth, and forever free.

(At this point Mr. BILBO yielded to Mr. WAGNER, who introduced a bill, which appears elsewhere under its appropriate heading in today's RECORD.)

Mr. BILBO. So, Abraham Lincoln in his proclamation did not set all the Negroes free. He set free only those who were owned by the people in that part of the Nation which was then in rebellion. And not only in the Emancipation Proclamation but again and again on other occasions he stated that he was behind the movement to repatriate the Negro to his fatherland.

The Emancipation Proclamation proclaimed freedom for the slaves, and proclaimed that efforts to colonize them would be continued. In the interval between the reading of this document to his Cabinet, while waiting for a Federal victory before proclaiming emancipation of the slaves, President Lincoln assembled free Negroes in the White House and informed them that he intended to enter into a general program which would solve the race problem through a peaceful and voluntary separation of the races. He closed his address to the free Negroes in the following words: "The practical thing I want to ascertain is whether I can get a number of able-bodied men, with their wives and children, who are willing to go when I present evidence of encouragement and protection. Could I get a hundred tolerably intelligent men, with their wives and children, and able to 'cut their own fodder' so to speak? Can I have 50? If I could find 25 able-bodied men, with a mixture of women and children, good things in family relation, I think I could make a successful commencement. I want you to let me know whether this can be done or not."

He is still speaking to these free Negroes.

"This is the practical part of my wish to see you. These are subjects of very great importance—worthy of a month's study, instead of a speech delivered in an hour. I ask you, then, to consider seriously, not pertaining to yourselves merely, not for your race and ours at the present time, but as one of the things, if successfully managed, for the good of mankind—not confined to the present generation, but as

"From age to age descends the lay
To millions yet to be,
Till far its echoes roll away
Into eternity."

That was a speech that Abraham Lincoln made to the free Negroes whom he called together in the White House following the time when he read his proclamation of emancipation to his Cabinet, and before the day he announced it as a war measure against the Confederacy.

In this White House address to the free Negroes, President Lincoln offered Federal aid to those who would volunteer for colonization and stated that he would begin the movement if as many as 25 would volunteer.

I have already read extracts from the memorial to President Franklin D. Roosevelt. I am giving the history as prepared by Mr. Cox.

President Roosevelt, through his secretary, Mr. McIntyre, replied to the memorialists, recognized the difficulties of the situation and regretted that it was not practical at that time to consider their proposed steps for repatriation. The memorialists then sought assistance from Virginia, which State had taken the initiative in acquiring the territory which is now Liberia—

I am reciting this history because I want it to be known that I am not alone in making this fight for the repatriation of the Negro.

and the General Assembly of Virginia passed the following memorial to Congress, February 1936:

House joint resolution

"Whereas there is valuable land sparsely populated in the Republic of Liberia, a portion of which land is reserved for American Negro colonists, and many of our Negroes evidence a desire to live in an independent nation of Negroes and strive to achieve a high and honorable race destiny: Therefore be it

Resolved by the house of delegates (the senate concurring). That the General Assembly of Virginia memorialize the Congress of the United States to make provisions for the colonization of persons of African descent, with their own consent, in Liberia, or at any other place or places on the African continent."

I have already stated that Liberia has an area of 45,000 square miles and a population of 2,000,000.

I will admit that Liberia alone is not large enough in area to take care of 12,000,000 Negroes in addition to the 2,000,000 who are already citizens of that republic, but it would be a very easy matter for the Congress to respond to the petition of the Virginia Legislature. Congress could direct the President of the United States and the Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, to open negotiations with the French Government and with the British Government. We could buy all the territory needed to colonize 12,000,000 Negroes. In fact, we could get almost as much territory in Africa as we have now in the United States. The French own all the African territory to the north of Liberia, all the way up to the Mediterranean Sea, and the British own the territory to the south, all the way to the Cape of Good Hope. Since both France and England are considerably in arrears on their war debts, there is no reason why we should not give them an opportunity to pay their just and honest obligations to this country by selling to us as much territory as the Negro race would need for the next several hundred years. This region in Africa is a wonderfully fine country; it is noted for the fertility of its soil and for its great resources; in fact, I am told that this part of Africa has more, greater, and better resources than has the United States, in coal, in metals, in gold, in timber, and practically in every other resource needed for the establishment of a great nation for our colored brethren now living in this country.

The peace movement's appeal to President Roosevelt would be classed, I think, as the most extraordinary Negro racial document in the history of the Nation. The program of the organization is restricted to a single purpose: "To return people of African descent to their motherland, Africa." It marks, however, but one of an historical series of Negro effort to effect racial repatriation. It was but a decade ago that the Universal Negro Improvement Association, under leadership of Marcus Garvey, was proclaiming the ideals of Negro blood integrity, Negro advancement culturally and racially, and a repatriation movement with Liberia as its initial objective.

Before we survey, historically, Negro effort to reestablish the American portion of the race in the land of its ancestors, we should know something of the history of the British colony of Sierra Leone on the west coast of Africa in which recaptured slaves and certain blacks from Great Britain, the United States, and the British West Indies had been colonized.

Mine is not a new idea.

President Jefferson corresponded with the Sierra Leone Co. and sought to secure the consent of that country to receive Negro emigrants from the United States. The British rejected Jefferson's proposal and gave as one reason for their refusal to receive emigrants from the United States what amounted to a severe condemnation of the character of the American Negro as a nation builder. It was stated that the British Negro—those that had been received from Great Britain and the British West Indies—had the qualities requisite for freedom, and for establishing a nation of their kind, but that the American emigrants were a worthless and troublesome element.

This is the British indictment against the American Negroes.

An unfair estimate, we think, and one not so favorable to the British; for the American Negroes that have been repatriated by that country were those who had been lured from their masters in the Revolutionary War; and this condemnation of their late war comrades seemed to imply that only worthless Negroes had joined the British forces.

Mr. President, someone may brand me as a crank, as an impossible dreamer, but I have entertained this idea for many years. "God works in a mysterious way His wonders to perform." The African colony is the home of the Negro. He is there in his wild state; he is there uncivilized; he has no religion except that of cannibalism and fetishism; he knows nothing of the Christian religion. I have entertained the idea that God, in His wondrous way, was looking to the day when Africa would be rejuvenated, revolutionized, and the black man of the African jungle would be brought to the Christian religion; and He is doing it and has done it through the slaves that were brought to America. As we, the Christian people of America, have given the Negro the culture, the refinement, the education and the ideals and the spirit that a great many of them possess, and there are some splendid individuals among the Negroes; we have put them in shape, a position where they can take care of themselves, and I believe that some day in the near future the movement will take hold of the American people, it will take hold of the Negroes of America, and that the Negroes will be peacefully—not forcibly but peacefully and willingly—repatriated to the land of their fathers, and that the Negroes who have been brought from cannibalism and savagery to the status of education and have had engrafted into them and upon them the white man's civilization and culture can return to the land of their fathers, and there be the instruments, in the hands of God Almighty, in the final salvation and Christianizing and civilizing of the African race in Africa.

Within a decade an able American Negro—Paul Cuffe—succeeded in doing what President Jefferson had failed in doing.

Jefferson tried to make deals with the Sierra Leone British Co. for a place for the Negroes, but he failed. This Negro, however, Paul Cuffe—

Obtained the consent of Sierra Leone to a program for reception of American free Negroes. Paul Cuffe was a native of Massachusetts. He was the son of Cuffe Slocum, a slave who by industry had purchased freedom. Because it pertained to former slave status, the surname "Slocum" was abandoned. When Paul had become adult he was described as tall, well formed, and athletic; a man of remarkable dignity, tact, and piety.

At the age of 16 Paul Cuffe was a sailor on a whaling vessel. He was captured by the British and held prisoner for some months. He studied arithmetic and navigation. When he was 21, he and his brother John contested the legality of denying suffrage to colored citizens who paid taxes and shortly afterwards Negroes acquired legal rights and privileges in Massachusetts.

That was away back yonder before the Civil War, before the adoption of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.

When he was 34 years old he built a public schoolhouse and employed a teacher. He became captain of his own vessel, acquired other vessels, and at the age of 47 owned one ship, two brigs, several smaller boats, beside property in houses and lands. He early became interested in Negro repatriation and in 1811, with a crew of Negro seamen, sailed to Sierra Leone and made arrangements there for the reception of Negro emigrants from the United States. The second war with Great Britain intervened and it was not until 1815 that he could begin his plan. In that year, at his own expense, he carried a shipload of emigrants, free Negroes, from Massachusetts to Sierra Leone. He died in 1817,

the year in which white Americans decided upon a plan to assist Negro repatriation.

In the General Assembly of Virginia, 1777, a committee of which Thomas Jefferson was chairman, reported favorably on a measure for the emancipation and colonization of Virginia slaves.

Virginia was one of the Southern States that seceded, yet there were a great many people in the slave States who did not believe in slavery and who were just as much opposed to slavery as were Garrison, Harriet Beecher Stowe, John Brown, or any of the other great abolitionists of the Nation. I do not hesitate to say that my father was bitterly opposed to slavery; he was a soldier in the Confederate Army; he followed the South; like Lee and others, who, possibly, did not believe in secession, he followed his State and was a soldier in the Confederate Army. Yet he never believed in slavery, but always condemned it.

Its term required the acquisition of territory and a plan for gradual colonization, sending out young men at the age of 21, young women at the age of 18. It was proposed to establish and sustain them until the colony had acquired strength.

And that is what I am proposing, that, in our attempt to repatriate the Negroes, the Government shall not only pay the expense of transporting and colonizing them but shall sustain and oversee them and be a father to the repatriated, colonized Negroes until they are ready to carry on as an independent republic of their own, just as we have been a father to the Cubans, as we have been a father to the Filipinos.

After the War for Independence several of the States emancipated their slaves and a number of leading white men in these States sought to promote a colonization movement to repatriate the freedmen. Before definite measures could be effected the French Revolution had begun and the world was in discord and uncertainty until Napoleon had fought his last battle at Waterloo in 1815.

With the exile of Napoleon there was a general peace for the first time in 40 years. Immediately we find the friends of Negro repatriation at work. Charles Fenton Mercer, a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, introduced a resolution requesting the President to acquire land for a colony for free Negroes and for slaves who should be made free.

I want you to keep your eye on this man Mercer. He is one of the great Americans.

This memorial was passed by an almost unanimous vote December 1816. Tennessee and Maryland made similar requests. Early in 1817 a group of distinguished citizens gathered in Washington and formed the American Colonization Society. The purpose of the organization was to promote the cause of Negro repatriation. Land would have to be acquired for a colony, and ways and means for its settlement would need to be formulated. The task would be too great for a group of private citizens, but it was believed that the society, if aided by the Federal Government, could begin the repatriation movement, and that thereafter the Federal Government could take over the movement.

When it had set forth its purpose of Negro repatriation, the American Colonization Society enlisted in its ranks probably the most distinguished body of citizens that have ever been enrolled by any organization during our national history. Bushrod Washington was its first president. Francis Scott Key, John Randolph, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, Charles Fenton Mercer, John Marshall, Andrew Jackson, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Abraham Lincoln, and a host of other able Americans, men and women, as members of the society sought to make Negro repatriation a reality.

It is a pity we cannot today get some of these alleged leaders on the Republican side and the Democratic side to join in doing what the rank and file of the Negroes really want done, and that is to repatriate them back in their fatherland.

Rufus King, in the United States Senate, proposed that proceeds from the sale of the public lands, after certain obligations had been paid, be used by the Federal Government in a general scheme of Negro colonization. Madison and Marshall, as private citizens, concurred in the King proposal. But the Federal Government was not to take over the repatriation movement, for in Congress the slave power raised its head and struck at every move that was made to assist the cause of emancipation and colonization of the slaves.

You will recall that in the days just preceding the Civil War—and they were hectic days—as the great leaders of the Nation were laying plans and trying to devise some means of not only emancipating the Negro but colonizing or repatriating him in Africa, the southern Senators and Representatives who were representing the slaveholders of the South were found fighting the movement for repatriation. Today, when

we find the southern Senators and southern Representatives pleading for the repatriation of the Negro, the northern Senators are opposed to it, because they are afraid of the Negro's political power, and they need him in their business. There is your picture.

While that condition may exist today, however, I predict that it will not be many years before our northern Senators, Democrats and Republicans, will be joining hands with the southern Democrats in a general white man's movement throughout the Nation to help the Negro go back to his fatherland, because you are going to have trouble. The more and more the Negro becomes amalgamated, and the more he becomes educated, the more trouble he is going to give. If you do not believe that, just wait and see.

Let me digress right here and read you something from Pennsylvania to substantiate just what I have been telling you.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SCHWARTZ in the chair). Does the Senator from Mississippi yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. BILBO. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Has the Senator stated the place of residence of the 1,000,000 Negroes who, he states, have associated themselves together in an organization requesting that they be repatriated to Africa?

Mr. BILBO. Yes, sir. They are all north of the Mason and Dixon's line. They live in Chicago and other parts of the Midwest.

Mr. RUSSELL. If I correctly understand the Senator, this movement is not being promoted by men who live in the South.

Mr. BILBO. No; they do not know anything about it. They have not had a chance. I made the statement that I believed that the great majority of the Negroes of the South would be glad to join in the "back to Africa" movement.

Mr. RUSSELL. So, if I correctly understand the Senator, this is a wholly voluntary movement, and does not contemplate any force or persuasion other than argument and demonstration of the fine possibilities for colonists in this section of Africa adjacent to Liberia?

Mr. BILBO. The Senator is correct. I have never advocated the use of force or intimated any such thing; and these persons whose names are already on the petition, who say they have made arrangements to go and are ready to move, are persons who live north of the Mason and Dixon's line. The Negroes of the South, where we have 8,000,000 out of the 12,000,000, have not had a chance to join the movement; but I think I can speak for the great majority of them when I say that they will be glad to go unless they are influenced by some of these highbrows who do not want to go. They are afraid to go.

I just want to show you what is taking place in Pennsylvania right now as a result of the white man's desire to control the Negro vote politically. I received a letter, reading as follows:

You have it right. The Guffey-Earle government in Pennsylvania and the Kelley government in Philadelphia have curried favor with the colored people until now it is unsafe to walk on the streets at night if you are white.

We have nigger cops, postmen, magistrates, and judges who like nothing better than impose on white folks. They get away with murder.

The white people are puzzled and afraid.

This is over in Pennsylvania.

The law no longer protects. Have a colored criminal arrested, and the police discharge him. A Democratic division or ward leader is always on hand to see that the nigger gets the best of it.

Preference and laxity in the courts have become notorious where colored defendants are concerned.

Senator, you ought to see how Federal relief money is thrown away on these nigger friends.

Candor demands that the blame for the start of this crime in Pennsylvania must be placed at the door of the G. O. P.

That is, the Republican Party. You see, this is not a Republican writing this letter. He says:

Candor demands that the blame for the start of this crime in Pennsylvania must be placed at the door of the G. O. P.

Beginning 30 years ago, Republican ward leaders in Philadelphia started to colonize nigger families and roomers in houses along the borders of many of the wards here. The purpose was to use these fellows for repeaters at election time, plus any other skulduggery they could be used for.

These colonies gained great growth right after the World War, and since have further been encouraged by Messrs. Guffey et al., only now they vote Democratic instead of Republican.

The Democrats have them.

Partly it is God's just punishment to our white people here for not putting a check on this thing when it was first recognized. However, sympathy for the colored folks, especially hard-working colored women, prevented direct action by the whites.

Scores of thousands of Negro women and minors are working, at least part time, in Philadelphia and elsewhere in Pennsylvania, and their families at the same time are drawing relief money.

The Government recently sent out a post-card canvass to the citizens, asking report on those employed in domestic work, etc.

Many white families either didn't report or lied in order to serve the interests (as they thought) of the women and minors (mostly colored) doing housework in white homes. This prevents the authorities from purging the relief rolls, of course.

Senator, it is like a breath of fresh air to us here, to have you come out as you did.

We don't want to oppress colored folks, or Jews, or others, but we expect them to obey the laws and do their rightful part to support our Government.

We don't want our Congressmen to support any legislation that would be harmful in the South, or would help to make more bitter the problem you always have had with the colored population.

We here in Pennsylvania know well enough that you folks in the South know a lot better than anybody else how to run your own affairs.

Thank God for one honest expression.

We only wish you representatives of the Southern States would form a commission to come up here to Philadelphia and New York City and offer advice to our authorities on how to handle the Negro problem, both for our benefit as white citizens, and also to prevent the Negroes from being used and misled by—

Certain elements. There is more of this. It gets worse the farther you go.

That letter merely shows you what happens when amalgamation is endorsed, and the mixing and interbreeding of the races are winked at, and civil rights are granted the Negro.

I shall return to read the steps taken to repatriate the Negroes of this country. I want to get this before the country.

When Congress would not grant aid, and the repatriationists themselves were without strength to acquire and colonize a territory, it seemed that the cause was a hopeless one. But it was not hopeless. Charles Fenton Mercer, who had sponsored the Virginia memorial which requested the President to acquire land for a Negro colony, had been elected to Congress. He was known as an able man. He now was to prove that he was a great man, possessed of political genius in dealing with his own race, and a humanitarian spirit which was to stamp him as a foremost benefactor of the Negro race. Mercer moved by indirection and involved the Federal Government in the acquisition of land and the transportation of colonists.

The importation of slaves was illegal, but they were being "bootlegged" into the United States. Mercer struck at this traffic. In the Anti-Slave-Trade Act of March 3, 1819, initiated and aided through Congress by Mercer in such manner as to secure the unanimous support of that body, an appropriation of funds was made to return to Africa, slaves illegally brought into the United States.

The slave trade was outlawed in 1808.

When the time came to execute the provisions of this act Mercer is found advancing to President Monroe the plausible theory that if the unfortunate captives should be returned to the coast of Africa and released there they would probably be reenslaved and possibly some of them returned again to the United States.

Our Yankee friends were then in the slave-trade business.

President Monroe was in full sympathy with the colonizationists. He determined to obtain land on the west coast of Africa where slaves illegally imported into the United States could be placed and cared for by the Federal Government. In cooperation with the Colonization Society, he sent out agents to acquire territory and sent out American free Negroes to aid in its administration. This was the initial step in obtaining the land now known as Liberia, the capital of which—Monrovia—was named for President Monroe.

The act of 1819, however, was merely the beginning of Mercer's work in opposition to the slave trade and in behalf of Negro repatriation. In 1820 he succeeded in having citizens of the United States who engaged in the slave trade adjudged pirates, who, "on conviction, shall suffer death." In 1823 he submitted a resolution, which was passed:

"Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to enter upon and prosecute from time to time such negotiations with the several maritime powers of Europe and America as he may deem expedient for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade and its ultimate denunciation as piracy under the laws of nations, by consent of the civilized world."

In his resolution of 1824, which was passed, the President was requested to lay before the House the result of his correspondence with other nations "relative to the denunciation of the African slave trade as piracy." In 1830 Congress published a volume of 293 pages (Rept. No. 348) dealing almost exclusively with Mercer's official efforts for the promotion of Negro repatriation and the suppression of the African slave trade. It is probable that his subsequent efforts were equally as great.

Mercer led three great movements, any one of which should give him a high place in American history. There is no portion of the African Continent now under political control of Negro people save that portion reserved for them principally through the labor of Mercer. The colonists who established a Negro republic were aided by many white men, but their chief indebtedness is to Mercer. And when the slave trade, the age-long agony of Africa, had ceased, no one more than Charles Fenton Mercer had influenced its suppression.

Mercer had been supported and protected by the great men of his day, but he was younger than most of them, and when his efforts had brought upon him the wrath of the growing slave power, he stood alone. The records of his great achievements were submerged beneath the rising tide of pro-slavery oratory, sermons, editorials, laws, and literature. But Negro students are showing an interest in Mercer's labors, and it may be that a Negro historian will reveal him as a benefactor of the Negro race, who served it in such measure as to cause his own race to grow cold in its memory of him.

With the acquisition of territory and the evidence of Negroes volunteering for colonization in far greater numbers than the colonization society could accommodate, there arose high hope that the Negro race could be transplanted to the land of its ancestors if Government assistance could be obtained. In answer to the "State rights" pleas of Federal inability to aid the movement, a far-reaching step was taken by the State of Ohio.

The legislature of that State, through its Governor, communicated to the other States a request that the several Governors submit to their respective legislatures a plan by which the free States, with the consent of the slave States, would enter with them into a scheme for the emancipation and colonization of all slaves. This "Ohio plan" provided that the institution of slavery might continue while repatriation was being effected and that slaves who would not volunteer to take part with their blood brethren in building a nation should not be deemed worthy of freedom.

The epochal effort of the Ohio plan is difficult to ignore, but it is a difficulty which the historian has succeeded in surmounting. The free States acceded to the Ohio plan. The slave States rejected it. Here is the first division between the North and the South on the Negro race question. It was over Negro colonization. The free States were aligned in a program which would tend to achieve the ideal of a white race in a white nation, an ideal which was rejected by the slave States.

However much this sectional division over emancipation and colonization of the slaves may have been ignored by the historian, it was not ignored in its day, for the rejection of the Ohio plan led to the rise of the Garrisonian abolitionists. William Lloyd Garrison was a supporter of the American Colonization Society. In Congress the slave power had held that constitutional limitations rendered the Federal Government incapable of effecting Negro, repatriation. It had, however, given evidence of a sympathy with the idea. The result of the proposals revealed the slave States in a true light as supporters of slavery, and as opponents of Negro repatriation on any large scale, for not only had they denied Federal ability to aid the cause, they had refused State's cooperation which would effect the same purpose.

Garrison turned upon the Colonization Society—

This is where William Lloyd Garrison got in his dirty work—

Garrison turned upon the Colonization Society and characterized it as being merely an instrument of the slave power for removing troublesome free Negroes from the presence of the slaves, with the intention of perfecting the subjection of the hapless Africans who were not free. The general plan of the society was to colonize "Those who were free, and those who should be made free." The latter provision drew forth the frenzied ire of the slave power. It accused the society of being an instrument of the Garrisonian abolitionists. The sustained attacks upon the colonization movement by Garrison and the slave power would have obliterated it had it not been supported by men of great eminence, for Garrison and the slave power had the ears of the Nation. Reputedly they were arch enemies, but in reality they had much in common. Both opposed colonization of the Negro. Both sought to destroy the Union. Garrison, at least in theory, advocated amalgamation of the races. The slave power opposed amalgamation as a theory, but some of the slave owners seem to have practiced it.

I call attention now to a book which is being read by more Negroes than is any other book in the United States. The title of the book is "Brown America—The Story of a New Race." It is by Edwin R. Embree. The book was copyrighted in 1931. Let me read the titles of the chapters, and Senators will get an idea of what it is all about:

The New Race.
Peregrinations.
Keeping Alive the New Environment.
Learning the New Civilization.
Making a Living.
Brown Ballots.
Odds Against the Nigger.
Soil and Soul.
A Few Portraits.

This book is being read today as religiously and as universally by the educated Negro citizen of this country as the Christians ever read the Bible or the Chinese ever read the Book of Confucius. This is the Negro bible right now, because the author of the book, Mr. Embree, advances the theory, the idea, the scheme, the dream, that by the amalgamation of the Negroes and the whites, which he admits is taking place, there will be created in the United States a new race, which will take the place of the black race and will take the place of the white race. This new race will be a brown race; in other words, that after a while all the inhabitants of this country will be "high brown," octoroons, quadroons, mulattoes, mongrel. The author says that upon the civilization, the culture, advancement, inventions, and achievements in music, art, and literature of the Caucasian white race of America, with what the Negro has contributed to it, this brown race, the "high browns," will build a still greater civilization, and that this country will never reach the glorious heights to which it is destined until the whites have been wiped out and the blacks have been wiped out and all the inhabitants of the country become "high browns" in the new race, the new civilization for America.

And oh, how those Negroes are eating this book up. Go into some of the Government Departments, where one will find Negroes occupying sinecure jobs as messenger boys, as elevator operators, and so forth—in one of the Departments one can find nothing but Negroes—and on the desk of nearly every Negro will be found a copy of Brown America. All of them are reading it. They believe in it and they see in it the new race, the new day, the new civilization that shall outshine and be more glorious than any civilization that may be built by the inventive genius of the Caucasians, who have given to America this splendid civilization of ours.

Mr. President, I will admit that our civilization is not yet ideal. We are still in a way barbarians, we are not yet completely civilized, but our civilization is about as good a civilization as will be found anywhere in the world. I believe that if the Caucasian bloodstream is kept pure, and we are permitted to struggle on to higher ideals, the American people, the Caucasians, if there be no amalgamation with the colored races, will yet give to the world the highest type of civilization. I believe that the fondest dreams of those who dare to dream of what is possible of accomplishment in the uplift of the Caucasian here in America will be realized to their fullness.

The politicians who have been preaching civil rights for the Negroes and who have been endorsing intermarriage, and even permitting it, and who refuse to stop it, who encourage social contacts of whites with the Negroes, mixing up with them, ought to read this book "Brown America," because they will find that they are doing their part toward bringing about the "high brown" race that is going to be, in the opinion of most mulattoes the "great race" of America in the future. Such politicians are parties to that movement. They ought to read the book as the Negroes are reading it. Those politicians are having as much to do in bringing about this hoped for condition as the Negroes are. What the book says is true in some respects. If we do not bring about the repatriation of the Negroes and the separation of the two races, I care not what is said about it or

what is thought about it, there will take place in America what the author of the book predicts, complete amalgamation, and authentic history of 10,000 years proves that he is right. It will not take place in 300 years, nor will it take place in a thousand years, or perhaps 2,000 or 3,000 years, but eventually it will take place.

In the old days the Egyptians had a wonderful civilization. They moved on step by step to great heights for 3,000 years. During those 3,000 years there came, however, the hordes of the Nubians from the upper stretches of the Nile and flooded Egypt. What was the result? At the end of 3,000 years complete decay set in, there was a perfect stagnation of the Egyptian culture and civilization, and the Egyptians went to the bottom, and although white men from England, from France, from Persia, from Syria and other parts of the world have attempted to graft their culture onto this decayed civilization of Egypt, yet all they have put into Egypt has been like dropping something in a bog—it has been swallowed up in the bog of mongrel civilization which is to be found in Egypt as the result of amalgamation of the white with the colored race.

I shall now go on with the story of repatriation in this country. I want the country to understand it. I want everyone to know what has been done along this line.

Garrison and the slave power limited the activities of the Colonization Society, but they could not destroy the society. Some 12,000 emigrants were established in Liberia. The Civil War merely suspended its operations. Important movements to Liberia continued after the Civil War. It was the reconstruction era which devitalized the society as an agency for Negro repatriation. In 1870—

That was just before Mississippi elected the Negro Senator—

In 1870, though emigrants were sent to Liberia, we find agents of the society reporting to the parent organization that reconstruction politicians were everywhere among the Negroes urging them to abandon the idea of a Negro nation, and prepare instead to take over the land of their late masters.

That is what broke up the repatriation society that was organized under the leadership of Mercer and Thomas Jefferson, the great men before the Civil War, and was fostered and encouraged by great men, including Abraham Lincoln and President Grant after the Civil War. It was the carpetbaggers in reconstruction days who took the Negroes' minds away from it and held them away from it, who held out greater things to them in America, just as the politicians now hold out greater things to the Negroes during political campaigns. We shall hear some of them this summer, as soon as Congress adjourns and they get back home. We shall hear them say: "Oh, what I did for the Negro, and what I am going to do for the Negro!" And the Negroes, some of them, are so childlike in mind that they actually believe that these Senators and Representatives have actually been doing something for them. No one has done anything for the Negro except President Roosevelt, who has given them the W. P. A.

That is about all that has been done for them.

The American Colonization Society has maintained its charter and has a complement of officials. When it relinquished control of Liberia to the American Negroes and their children residing there, the society retained substantial portions of that country for settlement by future emigrants from the United States.

So there is the land waiting and ready.

It is this land, thus held in trust for emigrants from the United States, which is referred to in the 1936 Virginia memorial to Congress.

I have already read that memorial and put it in the Record. In other words, when this society which owned Liberia relinquished its claim and control in 1870, it had these lands dedicated to the settlement of Negroes who might want to go to Liberia.

In 1834, when Garrison and the slave power were well under way in their attack upon those who sought to colonize the Negro, there was born near Abbeville, S. C., a Negro boy, Henry McNeal Turner, who was destined to be the outstanding advocate of Negro repatriation when the Negro had been made a citizen, and

suffrage could not be denied because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Turner, like Cuffe, was free-born. It is a significant fact that the eminent Negro leaders who encouraged the race to achieve race progress through race nationality, as other races had done, were men who had never been slaves. In most of the slave States it was unlawful to teach a Negro to read or to write. This law could not be completely enforced, for many Negro youths of marked intelligence who were liked by white people were taught to read and write. Young Turner did menial service for certain white lawyers and was not only taught to read and write but taught a fair amount of history and arithmetic. In Baltimore he studied grammar, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

Isaiah Montgomery, the outstanding Negro of all time in my State, was a kind of bodyguard and a secretary to President Jefferson Davis of the Confederacy. He wrote a beautiful hand and was a very smart Negro. In an attempt to segregate his own race he established in my State a town in Bolivar County, Miss., known as Mound Bayou, where no white man lives. There are only Negroes in this town. Isaiah Montgomery had practical sense about the relationship that should exist between the white man and the Negro in the South, and he had good sense about whether or not the Negro was qualified to vote, because he, as the leader of the Negroes in Mississippi, was a member of the constitutional convention of 1890 in my State, and made a famous speech in which he objected to giving to the Negro the right to vote in the State.

Turner—

The South Carolina Negro—

Turner entered the ministry and after some years became a bishop in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, an all Negro organization. In Washington he attracted the attention of President Lincoln who appointed him Army chaplain for the first colored troops used in the Union Army. When the war was over he was sent with the reconstruction forces into Georgia, but resigned his commission in order to build up his church. He continued in politics. He was a delegate to the Georgia Constitutional Convention in 1867, and was a member of the State legislature for Bibb County. In 1869 he was appointed postmaster of Macon through the influence of Senator Charles Sumner, but relinquished the position in deference to opposition of white people to the appointment. In the church he was made manager of its book concern, became bishop of Georgia, and for 12 years was chancellor of the Negro school which is now Morris Brown University, in Atlanta. During his official visits to Africa he introduced Methodism there, and became a staunch advocate of Negro repatriation.

Bishop Turner is described as being very tall, with powerful frame and massive head. Like Paul Cuffe, he had a commanding personality. When we consider the personality and the achievements of these two eminent Negroes we are aware that they were not ordinary individuals but capable men who boldly proposed that the Negro in America cut loose from his moorings and voyage to a land and a government of his own.

All the really great intellectual Negroes favor repatriation. We have a few surface mulattoes who cannot see far enough ahead to know what is best for their own race.

Bishop Turner knew that the race problem was more than a problem of slavery and that it would continue as long as white women bred white children and Negro women bred Negro children. He held that the Negro would more likely obtain 400 acres of land and a hippopotamus in Africa than obtain the promised 40 acres of land and a mule in America.

The carpetbaggers who went South in the reconstruction days obtained the vote of the Negro by promising him 40 acres of his former master's plantation and a mule. If they found a particularly difficult case, they would supplement it with the promise of a red wagon to go with the mule. That is the way the carpetbaggers voted the Negroes in reconstruction days. That is why we had a Negro named Bruce here as a United States Senator. That is why we had a Negro legislature in Mississippi. That is why we had a Negro superintendent of education and a Negro Lieutenant Governor in my State. They got the vote of the Negro by this and other methods.

Now, instead of giving them 40 acres of land and a mule, we give them civil rights. We allow them to swim in the swimming pool with our white women. We allow them to eat in the same restaurants and cafes. We allow them to sleep in the same hotels. We give them all the social rights, instead of the 40 acres and the mule. That is what is done in the North. We have not yet got to it in the South. It

will be some time before we do. Gabriel will "toot his tooter" before we do.

When told that the Negro, if he remained here, could profit by the achievements of the whites and there was no need for racial and national independence, he held that freedom for racial initiative was a prerequisite for racial progress, and that in this respect the Negro would be better off in hell than in the United States.

That was Bishop Turner. I think I had better read that again.

When told that the Negro, if he remained here, could profit by the achievements of the whites and there was no need for racial and national independence, he held that freedom for racial initiative was a prerequisite for racial progress, and that in this respect the Negro would be better off in hell than in the United States.

Bishop Turner was one of the great representatives of the Negro race.

Cuffe had not witnessed organized opposition to Negro repatriation. The life span of Turner, however, covered the development of organized opposition. Daniel Webster proclaimed, in the Senate, that he would be disposed to favor the appropriation of almost any sum of money for Negro repatriation if a southern Senator would bring forth a measure to effect it. But the slave power was adamant. Turner also witnessed the complete reversal of the splendid northern position held for a half a century. The slave power held the Negro for his labor.

We do not deny that.

The Garrisonians had long promised the Negro's vote to the politicians who could free them and confer suffrage upon them. Turner saw the complete triumph of the Garrisonians, but an incomplete triumph for the Negro, in his opinion, for when he had become an old man he wrote to W. P. Pickett, who was preparing a publication, *The Negro Problem—Abraham Lincoln's Solution*, the following letter, January 12, 1907: " * * * I pray God that you will continue in the great work in which you are engaged, and move this country to help the Negro to emigrate to the land of his ancestors."

That is what took place in the mind of this great leader of the North. Before I get through, in the next 28 days, I am going to show what Francis Adams said when he was converted.

This is what Bishop Turner says about Africa:

I know all about Africa. I have been from one end of it to the other. I have visited that continent as often as I have fingers upon my hand, and it is one of the richest continents under heaven in natural resources. This country is not compared to it, and millions of colored people in this country want to go. But to pay our way to New York, then to Liverpool, and then to Africa is too much for the little wages the white people pay to our workers. Give us a line of steamers from Savannah, Ga.; Charleston, S. C.; Pensacola, Fla.; or New Orleans, La., and let us pay as much as the million or more white immigrants pay coming from Liverpool, London, and Hamburg to this country, and the Negro will leave by thousands and by tens of thousands—yes, by millions * * *.

As I said once before, in the 10 years preceding the World War immigrants came to this country from all over Europe, especially from southern Europe. Some of them were undesirable. If we had carried back to Africa as many Negroes as we brought foreigners into this country, we would not have a Negro in America today.

Let us return to the colonizationists' struggle with the slave power and with Garrison. The closing phase of the struggle was marked by the rise of the greatest of the colonizationists—Abraham Lincoln—to the exalted position of President of the United States. For many years Garrison's *Liberator* had carried "No union with slave owners" as a motto on its front page. Garrison had oftentimes declared that nothing could bend his will, but, under the leveled gaze of Abraham Lincoln Garrison recoiled and future issues of the *Liberator* were singularly free from proposals to abolish the Union. The other advocate of disunion was not easily suppressed. The President believed that the forces which had proclaimed a dissolution of the Union had been rallied by and were rallying around the slave power. The slave power sought to destroy the Union. It was a fitting thing, then, that the Union should destroy the slave power.

That is why Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation as a war measure.

The emancipation proclamation states that the effort to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, would be continued. It will be found that the Executive efforts which were to be continued had been directed toward obtaining land upon which Negro emigrants might settle; devising plans for compensated emancipation of the slaves; obtaining an appropriation from Congress with which to begin colonization; and an official request to

Congress for a constitutional amendment to sustain a colonization program.

Abraham Lincoln went that far with it. He first wanted to pay the slave owners of the South for the Negroes; and then, when he was finally forced to do so, as he believed, as a war measure, he emancipated them; but through it all Abraham Lincoln was trying, by means of a constitutional amendment, to force Congress to provide the funds and the means to bring about this repatriation of the Negro.

When the President considered voluntary emancipation of the slaves he at the same time proposed their colonization. When he proposed compensated emancipation of the slaves he proposed their colonization. When he proclaimed their forceful emancipation he promised their colonization, and in keeping with the promise he submitted certain definite colonization plans to Congress. Wherever there is found a proposal for the solving of the slavery phase of the race problem there will be found a supplementary proposal for the solution of the problem in its entirety.

The executive efforts with regard to Negro colonization were not measures for the preservation of the Union. Emancipation was a war measure, but colonization was to be a post-war measure, by its nature contingent upon maintenance of the Union. Racial separation is a concept which extends beyond politics into the realm of race.

The President had not suddenly jumped to conclusions with regard to racial separation. In the years of his public life, which were the background of his Executive decisions, there is found a clear view of his philosophy of the race problem. A race problem, produced by contact of races, was a problem that could not be solved except through the separation of the races or by their blood amalgamation. Racial separation is not a necessity. It is a possible choice between the alternatives. Its execution would be a Herculean task. No capable mind would propose such a task without having considered the issues involved in holding the races together. For many years "separation" had been Mr. Lincoln's choice between the alternatives. The slave power had stood between the Nation and the choice of "separation." The Emancipation Proclamation was an instrument designed to destroy the slave power, and was a fit instrument to bring forward the concept of racial separation, though its attainment would be a post-war program.

The racial philosophy of Abraham Lincoln differs little, if any, from that of Thomas Jefferson. Each weighed the "alternatives" and each chose separation. They considered the issues involved in holding the races together. Mr. Jefferson said: "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government." He declared that he wished for the Negroes the full liberties of men, but in a country of their own and in a climate congenial to them.

Shortly before his election to the Presidency, Mr. Lincoln went into more detail in this respect. In a Douglas-Lincoln debate, Senator Douglas had said, "For one I am opposed to Negro citizenship in any and every form. I believe this Government was made by white men, for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever." To these sentiments Mr. Lincoln replied, "I will say, then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races—that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people, and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality."

Those were the ripe convictions of a matured brain just before Lincoln was elected to the Presidency. The fourteenth amendment and social equality and political equality that we have now in this country were brought about as the result of a war-crazy atmosphere immediately after the war. After Lincoln was assassinated, and was out of the way, then Andrew Johnson appeared on the scene as President, and when Johnson refused to go along with crazy, mad leaders, such as Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner, and others of the kind, they proceeded to impeach Johnson and, as I recall, there was just one vote lacking on the floor of the Senate to bring about his conviction.

Why was it sought to impeach Andrew Johnson? Because Johnson believed as Abraham Lincoln believed; he approved the philosophy of treating the Negro as Abraham Lincoln proposed, and it was desired to get rid of him. His enemies did weaken his power, and then proceeded to pass the unthinkable measures of reconstruction and to adopt the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. Every thinking, intellectual man of the North and South knows that those measures were mistakes in those days.

Thus we see the background of the mental processes which led the President to include a plan of Negro colonization in the

emancipation proclamation. The views of the President, however, and the similar positions held by Mr. Jefferson, and by Mr. Douglas, on this matter, were not views peculiar to these men but were similar to those held by other eminent statesmen from the foundation of the Republic until the triumph of the Garrisonian abolitionists. Had any of the previous Presidents had the power, and the will, to free the slaves, it is improbable that the concept of racial separation would have been omitted from the document ordaining freedom. The ideal of emancipation and colonization may be said to have been a national ideal, not opposed save by the limited number who owned slaves, and by a lesser number, probably, who had continued in support of Garrison.

There could be no better preface for President Lincoln's executive acts than his precise statement in a debate with Senator Douglas: "Such separation, if effected at all, must be effected by colonization; and no political party as such is now doing anything directly for colonization. Party operations at present only favor or retard colonization incidentally. * * * What colonization most needs is a hearty will. * * * Let us be brought to believe that it is morally right, and at the same time favorable to, or at least not against, our interests to transfer the African to his native clime, and we shall find a way to do it, however great the task may be." It was in this speech that Mr. Lincoln declared that separation of the races was the only "perfect way" to prevent amalgamation of the races, thus placing opponents of separation in the position of not desiring a "perfect way" to prevent amalgamation.

Today it is not a difficult nor an impossible task to bring about the repatriation of the Negro. There are only 12,000,000 Negroes in this country out of a population of 130,000,000. The majority of the Negroes want to go. The United States is abundantly able to provide means with which to pay the Negroes of America for all the property they own; it is abundantly able to provide all the land that is requisite in one of the most wonderful and fertile countries in the world, a beautiful country, with ideal climate suited to the Negro and his nature. In that country the Negroes can get all the land they need. There is nothing impossible about the suggestion.

Of course, there are obstructionists here and there, but why should not the white man of America give his all in all to bring about this one great objective? If he is intelligent, I am inclined to think he will look favorably on the proposition, because if he is intelligent he knows that, so far as his race is concerned, so far as his civilization is concerned, and so far as this country is concerned, it is headed for the rocks; it is headed for amalgamation; it is headed for the brown race; it is headed for a mongrel race; it is headed for a downfall and a leveling down and a dragging down of our civilization, as every civilization of the white man everywhere in the history of the world has been dragged down when amalgamation has taken place between the whites and the blacks.

If that be true, then, why is not every intelligent white man willing to accept the repatriation proposal; and why is not every intelligent Negro willing to accept it? The Negro knows that he has no place in this country; he knows that, as time moves on and competition between the whites and the blacks becomes keener and keener, the Negro is going to be discriminated against. He knows that he is discriminated against now; he is discriminated against in the North and the South alike. The Negro knows he does not get an equal chance. Here and there, once in awhile, come negrophilist will obtain office and appoint a Negro to a fairly decent job, but it will not be long until he will be booted out for a white man. The Negroes have got to take the lower position in the economic and industrial life everywhere. The Negro, knowing that, and also knowing that a benign government would be willing to furnish the money and provide the land and the means of transportation to his own fatherland, where he could work out his own salvation, where there would be no discrimination, and where his children would have an opportunity to obtain the things which they dream about in this country but which they will never attain, should not object. Why he should object, I cannot understand, and I prophesy the time is coming when the Negroes who are now abusing me through the press and in unsigned letters will realize that I am their best friend on the floor of the Senate, because I have advocated the solution of the troubles which they now have and the greater troubles which they are going to encounter in the future. The time-serving politicians who

promise them so many things will not get them anywhere. They have not gotten them anywhere so far.

Compelled to use military forces to maintain the Union, the General Government was soon in possession of Negroes liberated from persons in arms against the Union. President Lincoln acted in keeping with his race ideals, and with his conception that Negro repatriation was properly a concern for a political party, and properly a function for the Federal Government. In his first annual message he referred to this class of liberated Negroes and proposed that Congress consider colonizing them "at some place or places in a climate congenial to them. * * * If it be said that the only legitimate object of acquiring territory is to furnish homes for white men, this measure effects that object, for the emigration of colored men leaves additional room for white men remaining or coming here."

In other words, as the president of this "back to Africa" movement, backed by more than a million Negroes of the Middle West, has said, if repatriation could be carried out it would solve our unemployment troubles over night, and there would be a white man or a white woman or a white boy or a white girl waiting to take every place vacated by a Negro who had been repatriated to his fatherland. Of course today, under our system of caste, there are certain jobs that white men do not want, because they say those are Negroes' jobs. That is discrimination against the Negro. But if the Negro was repatriated to his fatherland, then there would not be that objection on the part of the white man and the white woman, when it was necessary in order to make a living, to taking any job for which they would be competent and by which they could render service."

President Lincoln knew that southern economy was based on cheap Negro labor, and white men's labor made cheap through competition with Negro labor.

You see, we had that trouble here in the fight for the wage and hour bill. We had some few folks from the South fighting the wage and hour bill. They were afraid that the scale of wages would be so lifted among the lower brackets in the South that they would not be permitted longer to capitalize and to profiteer and to racketeer upon the cheap labor of the Negro. As a result of that, the poor white laborer of the South has had his wage scale dragged down, because it is possible to get the Negro for a low wage.

I am one of the 15 Senators from the South who voted for the wage and hour bill. There were only nine Southern Senators who voted against it on the floor of the Senate. I favored it because it was a "lick" in the right direction. It was an effort to raise the wage of the laboring man in the lower brackets, whether he be a white man or a black man. I do not believe in slavery in any form, although you may have it, and you have it in some sections of the country.

(At this point Mr. BILBO yielded to Mr. JOHNSON of California, who submitted a resolution which appears elsewhere in today's RECORD under the appropriate heading.)

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, it afforded me very great pleasure to yield to the Senator from California to submit his resolution. I am rather glad he submitted it at this time, because I desire to talk about it before I get through in the next 28 days.

As I was saying:

President Lincoln knew that southern economy was based on cheap Negro labor and white men's labor made cheap through competition with Negro labor. He was of Anglo-Saxon descent, born in the South. He knew that the "upper class" southerners, so-called, while boasting of Saxon blood, for the first time in Saxon history were maintaining an economy under which the poor of the race were compelled to compete against the lowly and helpless Negro in order to get food for their children. Again, in his second annual message, he refers to the competition of the races:

"Reduce the supply of black labor by colonizing the black laborer out of the country, and by precisely so much you increase the demand for, and wages of, white labor."

That is one reason why I am trying to enlist the support of the leaders of both whites and blacks in this country to my proposition of repatriation. I should like to call upon all of these preachers throughout the Nation, and these school teachers and editorial writers, to give some consideration to the advantages and advisability of repatriation of the Negro,

and join me in the demand that steps be taken to bring about this great dream of making secure the white bloodstream of the Anglo-Saxon throughout all the ages to come.

The question of what classes of Negroes would be entitled to Government assistance in the President's scheme of colonization is easily settled—his plans included all classes. There were three classes—free Negroes, slaves held by loyal citizens, and slaves held by persons in arms against the General Government. July 12, 1862, the President assembled Members of Congress from the border States and told them he favored compensated emancipation and colonization. August 14 he assembled free Negroes in the White House, urged colonization upon them, and asked for volunteers. September 22 he issued the Emancipation Proclamation, which would affect slaves held by citizens in arms against the Union; and more than half of that document, prior to announcing freedom for the slaves, is given to the question of Negro colonization.

When you get back home you ought to take up Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and read it and analyze it. You will find a lot of food for thought in it.

The boldness of Abraham Lincoln's spirit and the comprehensiveness of his plans would justify our statement above that he is the greatest of the colonizationists. A distinguished British Jew, Lord Melchett, considered the application of the "selective age" principle to the colonization of Polish Jews to relieve the race pressure in that country. Discussing the effect of transferring vigorous youths, he said:

"Careful statistical inquiry shows that the effect on the future numerical strength of a given population, if all persons of the age group are removed annually, is very striking. The effect of such a transference would be to nearly halve the original population in 20 years, and in about 40 years to reduce it to about 14 percent of its former size."

Those are some very interesting statistics which have been worked out. In other words, if we should repatriate the young Negroes—the males at 21 and the females at 18—over a period of 20 years, by that time half of the race would be repatriated by just letting these young ones go and start their homes and colonizing them in this black country; and in 40 years they would all be gone but about 14 percent. That is a wonderful picture. It shows you what can be accomplished.

President Lincoln knew that a race could be transferred by removing only a portion of its members, and so did Thomas Jefferson, for the latter proposed that the selective-age group be composed of males of the age of 21, females of the age of 18. The effect of this method would be that the increase of the race would tend to be in its new home, its decrease be in its old home.

In other words, the population in the Republic of Liberia would increase, while the population of the Negroes here would decrease, in such a ratio that in 40 years there would be only 14 percent of the Negroes left in this country, and it would not be necessary to disturb any of the old-time "mammies" and "daddies" of the Negro race, but let these young ones who are ambitious go on and help settle up their new country.

The tragic death of President Lincoln gave opportunity for men of lesser mold to suppress the Negro repatriation movement in the North, just as the slave power in the South had brought to naught the initial repatriation movement which had been set in motion by the most eminent statesmen that the South had produced. There is ample evidence that these little men in both North and South were actuated by prospects of personal gain, and that their unwillingness to give the Negro a nation of his own was not unrelated to their plan to retain the Negro here and use him for their own peculiar advantage.

That strikes me as something that ought to impress the Negro more than anything else—that in the case of these people who, as public men, as preachers, as teachers, as newspapermen, and as editors of newspapers, are not willing to take the lead in repatriation of the Negro, there is a sure-enough "nigger in the wood pile." The reason they will not do it might be because they are afraid it will hurt their business. I can readily understand some of these ephemeral politicians and officeholders who do not want to step out in the open, because they are afraid they might antagonize a few votes, and jeopardize the prospect of their return to one of these easy seats at \$10,000 a year per. I can understand all that; and it strikes me that the Negro, if he thinks he is smart at all, ought to be smart enough to know that the reason these folks who ought to be taking the lead in trying to save the white race and trying to help the black race do not take hold of the problem, the reason why they do not step

out in the open, is because they want the Negro for his own personal gain and personal use here in this country.

Oh, yes, we would all regret to lose our Negro servants. I have one who has been with me for 7 or 8 years. He is a college graduate, a "high brown." He has lots of white in him. He is a wonderful servant, a loyal servant, and faithful, and I think a great deal of him. But I know that he and his kind will be servants as long as they live in this country, and I know it would be better for this man if he would go to Africa, to a new country, with a young wife, and there build his own home, in a land where he would be free, in a land where a white man could not go, because the Negroes saw it when they established the Republic of Liberia in 1847 that no one could vote in that country unless he had Negro blood in him. They were not taking any chances with the white man any longer.

I read further:

The conferring of citizenship upon the Negro, however, did not suppress the Negro's desire for independent nationality. As a "citizen" the Negro clamor for separate nationality continues, and its expression exceeds that of the free Negro in the days of slavery.

When the venerable Turner wrote the letter quoted above, there was in Jamaica (British West Indies) a young Negro, Marcus Garvey, who was destined to be the greatest advocate of race progress, race integrity, and race nationality that the Negro race has produced. With good education, Garvey in his youth, brooded over the disadvantages suffered by his race in contrast with those of other races. Highly endowed with qualities which made him the outstanding champion of Negro race advancement, he organized the Universal Negro Improvement Association. An able publicist, he spoke in terms that interpreted the race's innermost desire for economic progress, blood integrity, and race nationality. With the purpose to unify the Negroes of the New World with those of the old, Garvey's organization became international. It developed into a far-flung empire of sentiment and practical effort. Its membership is said to have reached a total of more than 6,000,000. The writer of this article has personal knowledge that the organization was widespread, for he corresponded with members of it in 26 of the States; in Jamaica, Panama, Honduras, Cuba, Haiti, Santo Domingo, and several other countries, including supporters of the movement in three or four of the political divisions of Africa.

The Garvey movement succeeded in doing well what other Negro repatriation movements had failed to do—it gained the attention of the American press. There was provision for organized hilarity among the Garvey following when their organization met in convention. The American press deals understandingly and leniently with the American Legion's "40 and 8," but the organized buffoonery of the Universal Negro Improvement Association's convention was played up by the press almost to the exclusion of the great ideals of the organization.

They overlooked the real purpose of Garvey's organization in the convention, and played up the ridiculous part of it.

This Negro organization, in a plan to aid Liberia, believed that it had acquired certain rights in that country and sent out a shipment of goods of the value, it is said, of \$50,000, when the Liberian end of the agreement was rescinded. It was about this time that other American citizens were more successful in acquiring holdings in Liberia, but the other Americans, not being of Negro descent, could not become citizens of Liberia, nor hold title to its land. This obstacle was overcome by leasing a million acres of Liberian land for a period of 99 years.

Again I call attention to the fact that when the Negro went out and established his republic in Liberia he not only provided that no one could vote in that country unless he had Negro blood in him, but he would not even let the white man own land in that country. He was taking no chances at all.

Garvey had said much about the white man seizing Negro Africa and holding its people in subjection. He foresaw the time when Africa would be ruled by the Africans. In opposing the white occupation of Africa, Garvey was not more intemperate than Bishop Turner had been, but Turner's declaration to the effect that the British would be defeated and driven back to the waters of the Thames, attracted little attention in Europe. Garvey aroused interest there, for a vast concourse of Negroes in the Old World and the new, gave the nod of assent to Garvey's doctrine of Africa for the Africans.

Opposed by many Negro leaders who felt that they were being displaced, particularly by the type of leader who favored amalgamation and not separation as a solution of the race problem; opposed, possibly, also by whites in high places who feared international objection to the doctrine of Africa for the Africans; Garvey, nevertheless, was secure. His enemies were numerous, and some of them powerful, but they could not break his hold on

the common people of the Negro race. But Garvey undertook to finance the Black Star Line of steamships to trade among Negro peoples and assist in carrying emigrants to Africa. He was convicted of having used the mails to sell worthless stock in the Black Star Line, stock deemed by a white judge and jury not to have been of immediate or prospective value. This conviction was before the mighty economic collapse known as "the depression" which began in 1929. Garvey had been considered an impractical dreamer, "afflicted with a Messianic complex," from whom the stock purchasing individuals of his race should be protected. Shortly after his conviction much stock issued by "practical" men, not afflicted with a Messianic complex in any form, was as worthless as the stock of the Black Star Line.

So Garvey was not so bad after all.

President Coolidge commuted Garvey's sentence, but Garvey was an alien and was automatically exiled from the United States. His popularity was not greatly reduced by the prison sentence, for his followers generally were in sympathy with the purpose of the Black Star Line. But his imprisonment deprived him of active leadership. His exile from the United States separated him from the largest group of his followers, and the world-wide depression was to work a mighty havoc in the organization's great membership. It continues, however, and is rebuilding a large membership. Its 1937 international convention was held in Toronto, Canada. Efforts will be made to secure a temporary permit for Garvey to reenter the United States which, if successful, will permit the 1938 convention to be held here.

I for one am ready to say that if Garvey will come back to the United States and help lead in organizing the Negroes throughout the United States to join in the repatriation movement, I will be glad to see him come.

As the Universal Negro Improvement Association began to disintegrate—it is said that at the present time its membership does not exceed 100,000—there arose Negro leaders, several of them, who sought to effect a minor program of Negro repatriation. Their particular interest was directed toward securing and developing small concessions in Liberia, or in effecting small settlements on Liberian land, or upon the land in Liberia which is held in trust for American Negro colonists. Garvey had proved to be the greatest of the Negro publicists and the greatest of the Negro organizers. There was now to arise a mighty Negro repatriation movement not dependent upon press publicity. Garvey aided the cause of Negro repatriation, but his organization also carried other concepts of racial uplift. The new movement is confined to a single ideal—to return people of African descent to their motherland, Africa. It was this new movement, a peace movement, which prepared the giant Negro memorial to President Roosevelt, as given above.

Which I have already discussed and inserted in the Record.

The leading personage in securing this great petition to the President is a woman, Mrs. M. M. L. Gordon, president of the Peace Movement; an indomitable spirit, making hundreds of speeches, carrying on extensive correspondence, rallying those whose hope is weak, and instilling a rugged enthusiasm for the cause of Negro repatriation. It is safe to say that if any American white woman had obtained so great a memorial for presentation to the President of the United States, for any purpose whatsoever, she would quickly gain the attention of the Nation. But the Negro woman remains nationally unknown. The memorial is wholly the work of Negroes. In its implications it would affect the future of the white race—and the black—as no other measure brought forward since the days of Abraham Lincoln could affect them. In the scant space given in the press to the Negro memorial there was a tendency to treat it lightly. It has, however, been greatly increased in signatures, and the memorialists plan to ask the President to permit a select committee submit to him the enlarged memorial.

For some unknown, hidden reason—selfishness, I presume—afraid they will offend some reader or some subscriber, it is a hard matter to get the press of the country to play up the fact that this Negro woman in Chicago has brought together over a million Negroes in the Middle West—not in the South—who are begging the United States Government and appealing to the Government to provide the ways and means to carry them back to their fatherland. Yet the papers do not carry it. There is a reason.

Paul Cuffe relied upon his personal resources to begin the repatriation movement. Marcus Garvey sought to have Negroes buy their own ships.

Garvey was not waiting on the Government.

Cuffe's purpose was understood and supported by eminent white people. Garvey begged for white understanding and support, but it was not accorded him. Bishop Turner frankly recognized that any effective program of racial repatriation was beyond the power of the American Negro, and he held that the movement should have biracial support, for both races would profit by it.

In other words, the white people of this country should join hands with this Negro woman of Chicago and her or-

ganization, which is paying its own expenses. She does not charge any fee. It is not a racket. She is imbued with the spirit of benefiting both races. The white people of the country should join her and help her to carry on her work, because it is as much to their interest as it is to hers that it shall succeed.

The president of the Peace Movement, her capable advisers, and the signers of the mighty memorial ask for white support on the assumption that the movement would benefit the condition of the whites, particularly white laborers. Lincoln and Clay often used a similar approach—an economic one. But the signers of the memorial show as well a spiritual longing to live among a people of their own kind.

In other words, here is work for the American Federation of Labor and here is work for Brother Lewis and his C. I. O., to join hands with this Negro woman, Gordon, in Chicago and her organization, because no other class of persons in the American set-up ought to be more interested in the repatriation of the Negro than "General" Green and "General" Lewis, heading the American Federation of Labor and the C. I. O. movement, respectively. They should get behind it, because in their struggle with the problem of unemployment here is a solution which will do away with all unemployment. If they want to render real service to the country, and to be far-seeing leaders of their labor organizations they should get behind this movement. Here is a chance for them to step out and be real leaders. I do not know what they will do. No one else knows. However, here is a chance for them to step out into the open and courageously advocate a movement, and if these two great labor organizations and their leaders will get behind it, they can help this "Back to Africa" movement in Chicago, and they will constitute a real force which will begin that movement in America.

I am afraid it might mean the loss of some dues to those organizations. I understand there are some 50,000 Negroes who belong to the American Federation of Labor. I do not know how many Brother Lewis has in his C. I. O. However this may be, they had better join hands with these Negroes in the Midwest, get behind his movement, and put it over for the benefit of their labor organizations.

American Negroes are divided on the question of repatriation as a solution of the race problem. This we know, for some of the Negroes openly advocate amalgamation of the races. The failure of the repatriationists to gain the support of the whites, is held by the amalgamationists to be an evidence that their own preferred solution is to win public approval, and that in no distant future the two races will merge into a mulatto type.

With Garvey exiled and Gordon ignored, the amalgamationists feel secure, but not quite secure, for a recent memorial to Congress by a great State asking that body to assist Negroes who desire to settle in Liberia, encouraged the repatriationists, and at the same time created misgiving and uncertainty in the hitherto confident ranks of the amalgamationists. There are not many white people who know of this division in the Negro race for it seems to be generally assumed by the whites that all Negroes would welcome the chance to lose their race identity by mixing with the whites. What type of Negro, then, are the repatriationists who propose to maintain the Negro type under conditions which would insure race integrity?

Racially, those who propose to maintain their racial type and achieve conditions to insure this purpose, would be the biological element upon which the race would have to depend. Racially, this element would be the elite of the race, while, racially, those with adverse proposal would be racial refuse, however valuable their qualities as individuals.

The fact that Negro leaders, the eminent ones named in this article, and a host of others less known to fame, have always obtained an important following when advocating Negro nationality is evidence that the Negro has pride in his race and a practical desire for it to stand alone and strive as other races. But it is evidence ignored by many white people who glibly state that the Negro has neither desire for race integrity nor ambition to achieve race nationality.

Thank God, there is a very wholesome element in the Negro race which believes in the Negro nationality, which believes in race purity, and they resent, and resist, and abhor, and detest the mealy-mouthed politicians who are trying to offer them social equality and everything else to get their votes. They resent the intermarriage of the races. They resent the illegitimate interbreeding of the races. We have some Negroes who are that way. That is the class of Negro which wants to take its race and go back to the fatherland. However, it is the mongrel, the octoroon, that

element of Negroes which tries to exploit its own race, which does not want the members of the Negro race to have anything to do with repatriating the race back to Africa.

It is evident that the reconstruction amendments to the Federal Constitution did not operate to deaden the Negro desire for race nationality. In addition to the Negro nationalists who have kept their ideal since these amendments, there also have been capable white individuals who advocated Negro nationalism, President Grant; United States Senators Ingalls, of Kansas; Morgan, of Alabama; Tillman, of South Carolina; Vardaman, of Mississippi; and Caraway, of Arkansas; Governors Jelks, of Alabama, and Broward, of Florida, are on record as favoring racial separation.

The Negro nationalists were profoundly grateful for the Virginia memorial to Congress on their behalf. But there is, I believe, equal if not better evidence of potential white support for their cause in a measure brought forward in Mississippi a decade ago. It was passed by a great majority in the senate, reported favorably by the house committee on Federal relations but lost in the last days of the session. In Virginia, Negroes appeared before committees and sympathetic white citizens gave them support. In Mississippi no Negroes had requested aid. The measure originated within the senate, and it is a majestic one, showing a lofty sense of responsibility of the white race to provide for and to give full aid to Negroes who desire a national home. Its reproduction here is a fitting close to this article.

Here it is. In other words this is the last fact that I have to offer in the history of what has been done in this country toward repatriation. This resolution was introduced in the Senate of Mississippi and passed unanimously. It was conceived and written by Senator McCallum, of Laurel, Miss. I desire to read it to the Senate:

Senate concurrent resolution

Be it resolved by the Senate of the State of Mississippi (the house of representatives concurring therein), That we do hereby most solemnly memorialize the Congress of the United States of America to request the President to acquire by treaty, negotiations, or otherwise from our late war allies—

They might have said "our late war debtors"—

sufficient territory on the continent of Africa to make a suitable, proper, and final home for the American Negro, where under the tutelage of the American Government he can develop for himself a great republic, to become in time a free and sovereign state and take its place at the council boards of the nations of the world, and to use such part of our allied war debt as may be necessary in acquiring such territorial concession, to the end that our country may become one in blood as in spirit, and that the dream of our forefathers may be realized in the final colonization of the American Negro on his native soil, and that the spirit of race consciousness now so manifest in the American Negro may be given an opportunity for development under the most advantageous circumstances.

That is the sentiment of the Mississippi legislators.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. RUSSELL. I did not hear the Senator from Mississippi state the year that action was taken by the Mississippi Legislature. I was interested in knowing when that action was taken.

Mr. BILBO. In 1926. In other words, here are two legislatures which have gone on record memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to do the very thing for which I have been arguing and pleading for the last 4 days, and for which I will continue to plead for the next 28 days.

In this connection I wish to read into the RECORD a statement which assembles under one heading all the efforts of Abraham Lincoln in trying to make America a white country. The would-be Negro leaders who are not sympathetic with the idea of repatriating the Negro, are going to celebrate the birthday of Abraham Lincoln in a few days. It might be well for them to read and to analyze and think about what this man Lincoln really tried to do, and his contribution to the cause of the repatriation of the Negro, and making this country primarily a white man's country.

Lincoln favored limiting suffrage to whites.—"I stand for admitting all whites to the right of suffrage who pay taxes and bear arms, by no means excluding females." Announcing his candidacy for the legislature, 1836. He was then 27 years old.

He believed that Congress had no power to interfere with slavery. " * * * that the Congress of the United States has no power under the Constitution to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different States." (Resolution to the General Assembly of Illinois, 1837.)

That was Lincoln's resolution in 1837, just 100 years ago.

In other words, if Abraham Lincoln were here on the floor of the Senate, feeling as he felt about our dual scheme of government, he would vote against the antilynching bill, because he went so far as to say that the Federal Government has no power to interfere with slavery in the States. The only thing he did about it was to issue the Proclamation of Emancipation as a war measure, to weaken the Confederacy and to help defeat the Confederacy in the war.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. LEWIS. I am sure the able Senator will agree with me that upon that basis President Lincoln's action would be called unconstitutional, not only in taking the property of the people without a hearing, but also in issuing his proclamation in the manner he did, without submitting it to Congress.

Mr. BILBO. Of course it was unconstitutional. Of course he violated the Constitution, just as the antilynchers are proposing to violate the Constitution with this bill. But Lincoln did it as a war measure. He did it as a means to help win the Civil War. In other words, he was violating the Constitution to save the Nation.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SMATHERS in the chair). Does the Senator from Mississippi yield to the Senator from Texas?

Mr. BILBO. I shall be glad to yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. Does not the Senator recall that Mr. Lincoln, in a letter to Alexander Stephens, in December 1860, openly avowed that he, as President, had no power under the Federal Constitution to interfere with slavery in any of the States?

Mr. BILBO. He voted for a resolution in the Illinois Legislature in 1837 in which it was declared that the Congress of the United States had no power under the Constitution to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different States.

Mr. CONNALLY. He reiterated that, as I recall, as late as December 1860, after he had been elected President of the United States, in a letter to Alexander H. Stephens. The Senator from Mississippi is pointing out that when Mr. Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation he did it as an act of war.

Mr. BILBO. Certainly.

Mr. CONNALLY. On the ground that by freeing the slaves he would thereby weaken the Confederacy and make it easier to overcome it.

Mr. BILBO. To show that he was keeping faith with his declaration and his belief as to our dual scheme of government, the Proclamation of Emancipation did not free the slaves in any of the States except the States which were then in rebellion against the Government.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. LEWIS. Let me ask my able friend if it is his position that the attitude of Lincoln was not so much to favor the liberty of the Negro as it was to serve the war purposes by an assault upon those States which, as my able friend says, were in rebellion.

Mr. BILBO. Lincoln never at any time contended or intimated that he was fighting the Civil War to free the slaves. That was not the issue so far as Lincoln was concerned. Lincoln was prosecuting the war only to conserve and preserve the Union of the States.

He was not in favor of social or political equality of the white and black races and opposed intermarriage of whites and blacks.—“I will say, then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in anyway the social and political equality of the white and black races—that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality.”

But they are trying it now in New Jersey.

“And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.” (Speech at Charleston, Ill., September 18, 1858.)

In New Jersey they have already done away with the idea of superiority and inferiority as between the whites and the blacks. They are all on a dead level. There is no apparent difference in New Jersey.

He supported the returning of the Negroes to Africa.—“If, as the friends of colonization hope, the present and coming generations of our countrymen shall by any means succeed in freeing our land from the dangerous presence of slavery, and at the same time restoring a captive people to their long-lost fatherland with bright prospects for the future, and this, too, so gradually that neither races nor individuals shall have suffered by the change, it will indeed be a glorious consummation. And if to such a consummation the efforts of Mr. Clay shall have contributed, it will be what he most ardently wished, and none of his labors will have been more valuable to his country and his kind.” (Memorial address following the death of Henry Clay, who for many years had been president of the American Colonization Society.)

THE SUDDEN FREEING AND COLONIZATION OF THE NEGRO NOT POSSIBLE

“My first impulse would be to free all the slaves and send them to Liberia, to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me that whatever of high hope (as I think there is) there may be in this in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible.” (Debate with Senator Douglas, October 16, 1854.)

Lincoln believed that it should be done. He knew it ought to be done, and he devoted his life to the great proposition until he was assassinated. Yet he was of the opinion that it could not be done suddenly; and no real thinker who has ever advocated repatriation of the Negro has believed that it could be done overnight, or that we could put them all on the ship the same day. Lincoln believed that the process of moving them should be gradual. Mr. Tugwell, when he moved a great number of people from the Dust Bowl area of the Middle West to Alaska, did not move them all on one ship. He took them at different times.

What colonization needs most is a hearty will. Such separation, if effected at all, must be effected by colonization; and no political party, as such, is now doing anything directly for colonization.

I am sorry that is as true now as it was when Lincoln was talking.

Party operations at present only favor or retard colonization incidentally. The enterprise is a difficult one; “but where there is a will there is a way,” and what colonization needs most is a hearty will. Will springs from the two elements of moral sense and self-interest. Let us be brought to believe that it is morally right, and at the same time favorable to, or at least not against, our interests to transfer the African to his native clime, and we shall find a way to do it, however great the task may be. (Debate with Senator Douglas, June 26, 1857.)

Lincoln was right. Wherever there is a will, there is a way. I am one of those who think there is no limit to the possibilities of the human mind if intelligently and indefatigably applied to the solution of any problem or the accomplishment of any fact. Thank God, there is no limit to what the human mind can do. That is why I am in favor of the repatriation of the Negro, because I know that the Negro, not being of the Caucasian race, is inferior when it comes to creative genius, when it comes to intellect, or when it comes to any mental powers. His head is not suitably built, and it does not grow in such a manner as to permit intellectual development, because, as the scientists and ethnologists tell us, the bones which make up the skull are joined together by sutures; and, in the case of the Negro, by the time he has reached the age of puberty, these sutures have become ossified and solidified, and there is no room thereafter for the brain to expand.

Lincoln knew that. He called attention to it.

Proposed to colonize Negroes liberated from persons in arms against the Government. . . . at some place or places in a climate congenial to them. . . . If it be said that the only legitimate object of acquiring territory is to furnish homes for white men, this measure effects that object; for the emigration of colored men leaves additional room for white men remaining or coming here.

Lincoln had the right idea about it. He agreed with Douglas, he agreed with Jefferson, Clay, and others that this is primarily a white man's country. That is why we have left the doors open, and, through our immigration laws, have permitted whites from various sections of Europe to come into the United States. We have kept the gates open for, lo, these many years, possibly too long; but the United States have been the haven of refuge for the oppressed of all the white races of the earth. They have come; they have settled here; they are with us; and, possibly, are causing congestion in some of our great industrial centers; but if we will give the Negro a chance to be repatriated—and I know he wants to be, if he has any sense, if he knows what is good for him and his offspring—he will leave vacant lands and homes and opportunities and jobs for the white men who are already bringing about congestion now in this country.

Lincoln further asked for free Negroes to volunteer for colonization, and he said:

Your race suffers very greatly, many of them by living among us, while ours suffer from your presence. In a word, we suffer on each side. If this is admitted, it affords a reason, at least, why we should be separated.

That is a quotation from the address of Abraham Lincoln to a committee of free Negroes on August 14, 1862. I quote further from Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of September 22, 1862:

And that the effort to colonize persons of African descent with their consent upon this continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the governments existing there, will be continued.

In his speech at Springfield, Ill., on June 26, 1857, Abraham Lincoln contended that colonization is the only pre-ventative of amalgamation.

Lincoln knew what was happening in the South, in the North, and in the West.

Colonization will settle the Negro problem forever. "Our strife pertains to ourselves—to the passing generation of men; and it can without convulsion be hushed forever with the passing of one generation."

He then proposed an amendment to the United States Constitution, giving the right to Congress to appropriate money for colonization:

Congress may appropriate money and otherwise provide for colonizing free colored persons with their own consent, at any place or places without the United States.

Mr. President, I think I shall give Senators a chance to decide whether they believe in white supremacy, whether they believe in keeping the white race pure, whether they believe in keeping the white bloodstream pure, or whether they believe in amalgamation with the brown race that is to come. So, I think I shall dig up this suggested amendment by President Lincoln and offer it to the Congress and see how they feel about it. Let us submit it to the 48 States and ascertain whether the legislatures of those States are willing to give the Congress power to provide the funds and means to bring about a peaceful, friendly, sympathetic repatriation, with the consent of the Negro.

The colonization of the Negro will benefit the Negro and benefit the laboring people, North and South.

Listen to Lincoln in his second annual message.

Reduce the supply of black labor by colonizing the black labor out of the country, and by precisely so much you increase the demand for, and wages of, white labor.

I know also that jobs would be provided for the white men and the white women of this country.

He began to realize the Negroes would reluctantly go, but in his second message he said, "Opinion among them in this respect is improving."

As I recited a while ago, it was the carpetbaggers who overran the South in reconstruction days, who tried to sow the seeds of discontent and remove from the Negro's mind the idea of bettering his condition by repatriation to Africa. The Negro is learning better now.

Conscious that the war for the preservation of the Union had been won, he commissioned Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, April 1865, to inquire into and give his views as to whether the Negroes could be exported (Butler Memoirs on p. 903). Lincoln was assassinated. Other forces instituted other ideals and the race which Lincoln sought to colonize has today increased to 12,000,000 in our midst.

And over 8,000,000 of the 12,000,000 live in the solid South.

There are but two possible outcomes to the American Negro problem—separation or amalgamation. As a nation, we are confronted with these alternatives and from them there can be no escape. White America can be attained only by sane and constitutional methods.

That is what I have been advocating for 4 days.

Congress may appropriate money and otherwise provide for colonizing persons of African descent at any place or places without the United States.

Those are, in substance, the words of the constitutional amendment proposed by Abraham Lincoln before he was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SCHWELLENBACH in the chair). Does the Senator from Mississippi yield to the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. BILBO. I am delighted to yield.

Mr. SMATHERS. Since when has Abraham Lincoln become authority to be quoted by the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. BILBO. I am glad the Senator asked that question. We are dealing with a race problem, and in dealing with it we have to deal with Republicans and Democrats who seemingly do not believe in our constitutional American dual form or scheme of government; and, since Abraham Lincoln was the President who issued the proclamation to free the Negroes of the South, it strikes me that his views might have some effect upon our Republican friends who claim Abraham Lincoln as the father of their party. I was also hoping that it might have effect upon my Democratic friends from the North who are now ready, for the sake of the Negro vote, to repudiate our democratic ideal of government, the dual scheme of government. If we are not able to convince them by reference to Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson and other great Democrats who preached and believed in State rights, and believed in the dual form of government, under which there should exist two sovereignties, and neither should violate the sovereignty of the other, I thought, perhaps, the words of the father of the Republican Party might have some effect upon my northern Democratic friends.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. BILBO. Yes.

Mr. CONNALLY. Let me ask the Senator from Mississippi if it is not rather amusing to hear a Senator who is advocating this bill, as we claim purely for political effect, resent the fact that the name of Abraham Lincoln, who was the best friend that the colored man probably ever had, at least, up to his day and time, should be mentioned and his authority and his generous attitude toward the Negro should be quoted in this debate?

Mr. BILBO. I certainly think the Senator is correct in his observation; in fact, I think the whole attitude of the northern Democrats who are espousing this un-American, undemocratic, unconstitutional antilynching bill is amusing.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Mississippi yield further to the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. BILBO. I am delighted to yield.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, in answer to the Senator from Texas, inasmuch as there has been proceeding for a period of more than a month long debate in opposition to this measure on the part of Senators from the South, where opposition to it is exceedingly popular, I think the most amusing thing about it all is to hear it charged that

Senators who may be advocating this bill are doing so for political purposes.

Mr. BILBO. In response to the Senator's observation, I think there is another thing more amusing than the fact recited by the Senator from New Jersey. It is to see a southern man, born and reared in the South and imbued with southern ideals and sentiments, one who has been taught that the Negro belongs to an inferior race and that he is not entitled to social equality or civil rights or political rights, move to the North and then reverse his whole philosophy, and the sentiments of the people amongst whom he was reared, to such an extent that he is not only in favor of giving the Negro political rights but is in favor of giving him social rights and civil rights, and has reached the point where he is willing to go in swimming with him. I think that is funnier than anything else that has occurred.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. SMATHERS. In response to the Senator's observation, I desire to say that there is nothing unusual about a man moving away from his prejudice and moving out into the open, where he can see things as they actually should be seen. It would be a nice thing for the Senator from Mississippi if he could move away from the picture for a few years, so that he could get the true concept of it.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, my attention was distracted by a remark of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VAN NUYS], and I did not catch the latter part of the Senator's observation. I should be glad to have him repeat it.

Mr. SMATHERS. The latter part of my observation was that travel is good for a man's education. It may broaden his concept a little.

Mr. BILBO. I think the Senator's observation is perfectly correct. I think his position is well taken, because I notice that when Turner, this great Negro from Georgia, and Mr. Adams, and all of the great leaders, traveled a while, and went into different parts of the country, and had a chance to see face to face what had happened in those parts of the country as a result of amalgamation of the races, as a result of the races living side by side, all of them were converted to the very thing I am advocating, and were in opposition to the position taken by the Senator from New Jersey. The intimation of the Senator from New Jersey is that I am more or less of a provincial, that I live in a very small territory, that my vision has been limited, and my opportunity for observation has been limited. I have not always stayed in Mississippi. I finished my education at the University of Michigan. I even went to school with a Negro. Not only that, but I have visited seven countries in Europe, and I had a chance there to observe what was happening; and if the Senator would go a little farther than New Jersey in his journeys out of North Carolina, I think possibly he would change his view.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I yield.

Mr. SMATHERS. I just want to say to the Senator from Mississippi that there are exceptions to all rules. [Laughter.]

Mr. BILBO. Yes; I think the Senator is right in that position, because I think he is the only exception I have noted in some time of the southern born, trained, and educated southern man crossing Mason and Dixon's line and then turning Yankee 100 percent. [Laughter.]

(At this point Mr. BILBO yielded to Mr. VAN NUYS, who presented certain petitions which are noted under their appropriate heading elsewhere in today's RECORD.)

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, I was happy to suspend to permit the Senator from Indiana [Mr. VAN NUYS] to present these petitions. If the society which presents these petitions, together with the one in New York, of which Walter White is the head, would use the money they are extracting from the Negro masses and a few misguided whites in this country to put on a campaign to generate a sentiment and an atmosphere in the United States for the

repatriation of the Negro back to his fatherland, they would do more good than they can do in a thousand years with the meaningless petitions they submit here. I appreciate the fact that prominent people have been associated with these Negro organizations, and I would that I could appeal to them—and I should do it in all sincerity, for the sake of the common good, the good of the white and the black races—to divert their efforts along other lines than trying to encourage the Negro in his efforts to secure more and more of civil and social rights here, there, and elsewhere. Instead of doing that, I hope they will give their time to developing a sentiment for bringing about the speedy repatriation of the Negro to his native land, where he will have a real chance, and where he will not have to suffer the discriminations of the past.

We have a prominent leader in the Department of Agriculture in Washington, Dr. Alexander, who for a number of years was the head of a Negro racial association in Atlanta, Ga. If men of that type, outstanding leaders in government, would give some of their time and thought to the solution not only of the lynching question but of all the racial questions of all the years to come, instead of trying to pacify and placate and monkey around with a piece of foolishness like this, we should get somewhere in solving our racial troubles.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President—

Mr. BILBO. I yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. LEWIS. I should like my friend, the able Senator from Mississippi, to answer a question.

Upon the theory that the Negro is to be sent out of the country, if it can be arranged, to what we may call his fatherland, in the case of a Negro who was born here in the United States from a father who was born in the United States, and he from a father who was born in the United States, and there are four generations of colored people all born in the United States, would not the able Senator regard this country as his fatherland?

Mr. BILBO. I am glad the Senator from Illinois has propounded that question. The Negro ought to be a better judge of the answer to that question than the Senator from Illinois or the Senator from Mississippi. If the Negro himself calls Africa his motherland or his fatherland, he is the one best able to judge. I am talking about the Negroes of the present generation. It has been conceded by all historians and everyone who has given any thought to the matter that Africa has always been the homeland of the Negro race. That is where they originated. That is where they started, so far as any known history is concerned. From that one point they have migrated to different parts of the world—to India, to Asia, to Europe, to the United States, to South America, and to the islands of the sea, except to the continent of Australia. The Australians provide in their constitution that no Negro may enter Australia and make it his homeland. That is one land that is white. That is one land where the people propose to keep the white blood-stream pure, and where they are not going to take the risk of intermarriage, interbreeding, or amalgamation, as we have done in this country.

So I think the Negro and the historian will agree that regardless of the fact that the Negro was born here, when he traces his ancestry back it will be found that he came direct from Africa, and that Africa is in fact the homeland of the Negro throughout the world, not only the United States but other countries. Being more or less descended from the Irish, I know that I feel very kindly toward Ireland.

We are going to have trouble in this country with the Negro. We are going to have trouble with the Negro in the North. That trouble is just as sure to come, and just as certain to come, as it is certain—as I am sure my friend from New Jersey will agree—that the activities of the Communist Party in America are going to give the American people trouble. The Negro is the most fertile field for the dissemination of the Communist doctrine.

I desire to call the attention of the Senate to a letter I have just received from New York. I want to read it and

put it in the RECORD, because it is an eye-opener to exactly what is taking place in this country.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. Yes.

Mr. SMATHERS. Am I to understand that the Senator is now going to talk about Communism?

Mr. BILBO. I am still talking about the Negro as an easy prey for the Communist doctrine that is being disseminated in this country.

Mr. SMATHERS. The Senator will have to excuse me, then. I am going.

Mr. BILBO. Surely. I trust the Senator will find time to read my observations along this line.

I received this letter dated February 3, 1938. This is "hot off the bat":

Senator THEODORE G. BILBO,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR BILBO: With reference to a news item in the final edition of the New York World-Telegram of the 2d instant, re girls employed in Government offices at Washington living with male Negroes, in connection with the general subject I have enclosed a copy of a set of resolutions passed at Moscow in 1930 to regulate the Negro question in America. You will note that these resolutions were duplicated and brought up to January 1937—

This is new stuff—

for the purpose of using at all Communist classes in the United States, and to supply delegates and lay members of the Negro race in the United States at their National Negro Conference held at Philadelphia, October 15, 16, and 17, 1937, in a mass drive to start the Negroes after "equality" for their race, as accorded to the white race under the Constitution.

At this conference there were many white Jewish girls sent there to live at same hotels, be seen in the company of Negroes on the streets, at theaters, restaurants, etc., for the purpose of firing the imagination of the Negroes on the question of "equality" for the colored race under a soviet America.

These are the machinations and operations and schemes of the leaders of the Communist Party.

At this conference there were over 1,100 delegates from 27 States, representing approximately 12,000,000 Negroes in the States, not to speak of our possessions. From this you can faintly grasp what the Communist program for America is. Thousands of copies of those resolutions have been spread through your Southern States, and at the New York Communist "Workers' School" at 50 East Thirteenth Street, there are registered 10,000 students in this year's study period who will take the course on the Negro equality question in America as an important part of the Communist activity. What do you and other American Senators, Representatives, and the lay citizenry, propose to do about it?

Here is the news item. Ten thousand students are now registered at the "Workers' School" at 50 East Thirteenth Street, New York City, N. Y., taking a course on the Negro equality question in America.

What do you * * * propose to do about it? Lay down and take it, or stand firm against such a movement? America is on its way for communism or fascism at the next national election. What are people south of the Mason and Dixon's line going to do? That is the burning subject for you to aid in getting before the American people. Now; not a minute to lose. Time is of the essence—

And so forth.

I do not entertain any fear that the Communist Party will be any considerable factor in the 1940 campaign. Of course, there are Communist organizations here and there and everywhere throughout the United States; but I say to Senators from the North who are trying to placate and line up the Negro vote by the support of this bill that the Communists are busy organizing the same Negro population, the same Negro vote; and you, sailing under the Democratic banner, may wake up on election morning and find that some candidate on the Communist ticket has taken the Negro vote and run away with it.

I read further from this letter:

There is a movement spreading around the Nation to combat these influences that would destroy American traditions.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BILBO. I am glad to yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. I suppose the Senator has seen copies of the resolution recently adopted by the Communist Party of America, in New York, advocating the pending bill?

Mr. BILBO. I did not see it. I have a copy of resolutions adopted last year in Philadelphia, proposing to go to the South and organize all the Negroes in the Black Belt, encouraging them to kill off the owners of the white plantations and take the farms of the South in the Black Belt.

Mr. CONNALLY. Propounding another inquiry, I have copies here of resolutions adopted in New York by the Communist Party advocating the bill, and I also have in my possession a number of telegrams to me bitterly denouncing me, and accusing me for not favoring the passage of the bill, from various communistic locals in New York City. I ask the Senator whether he has also seen an official statement from the Communist organization that the Senator from Texas is to be defeated in the next election because he does not advocate this particular measure, the statement officially signed by the Communist Party in New York City?

Mr. BILBO. I have not had opportunity of seeing the telegrams and having the information contained in them, but I have also been the recipient of many threats, and one among the threats is that they will proceed at once to qualify and vote all the Negroes in Mississippi, and that my days in the Senate are numbered. I do not know whether it is possible for them to carry out that purpose or not. Whether it is or not, for fear there might be a remote possibility of it, I will try to make use of the few hours I have left on the floor of the Senate. [Laughter.]

I wish to finish reading the letter to which I have been calling attention because I want it in the RECORD:

There is a movement spreading around the Nation to combat these influences that would destroy American traditions and its constitution for this wild, devilish, subversive, alien-devised and directed Communist movement which I take the liberty of calling to your attention that you may contact them and learn of activities that will make your blood run cold; it includes a plan to sabotage military units which no one in Washington dares attempt to interfere with but which when you hear its plans I feel sure you will dare move it out into the daylight of exposure and let the American people learn through their Senate and Congress what they face, therefore I furnish the names and address of Mr. and Mrs. L. D. Edwards, Carnegie Studio Building, Fifty-seventh Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City, N. Y., Studio No. 92, phone Circle 6-7154.

You may arrange with Mr. or Mrs. Edwards to meet you in Washington with material to establish beyond a doubt the truth of the assertions made in this letter. In conclusion I wish to offer my sincere congratulation for your fearless stand in exposing the vile trespass on American womanhood by the Negro and the more vicious attempt of communism to educate the Negro that it is an inherent right for the Negro to marry white women. Read the "resolutions" herewith carefully and read it to America in a senatorial investigation that shall be broadcast without interruption into every nook and corner of the Nation; then let the American rise in the might and rightful indignation and settle the question of communism in America for all time, let it be done before there is Russian revolution that will destroy all that is dear to Americans. Do not forget that communism staged the first move in their planned Soviet America revolution at Jersey City, N. J., where Mayor Hague stopped them only to have them attempt to lead him to slaughter. Do not let them win. Help beat them by seating JOHN MILTON as Senator from New Jersey against whom the guns of communism are now trained through the Senate.

I now wish to offer to the Senate a resolution adopted by the Communist Internationale in St. Louis. I shall ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this juncture in my speech as a part of my remarks.

Mr. CONNALLY. Without affecting the Senator's right to the floor.

Mr. BILBO. Yes. I request that I be permitted to include it as a part of my remarks without reading it, and I do not wish to lose the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi asks unanimous consent that he may have certain matters printed in the RECORD without prejudicing his right to the floor. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[Workers School—Negro America and the struggle against reaction—Resolution of the Communist International on the Negro question in the United States]

RESOLUTION OF COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL OCTOBER 1930 (RENEWED JANUARY 1937)

1. The Communist Party of the United States has always acted openly and energetically against Negro oppression and has thereby

won increasing sympathy among the Negro population. In its own ranks, too, the party has relentlessly fought the slightest evidences of white chauvinism, and has purged itself of the gross opportunism of the Lovestonettes. According to the assertions of these people, the "industrial revolution" will sweep away the remnants of slavery in the agricultural South, and will proletarianize the Negro peasantry, so that the Negro question, as a special national question, would thereby be presumably solved, or could be put off until the time of the Socialist revolution in America. But the party has not yet succeeded in overcoming in its own ranks all underestimation of the struggle for the slogan of the right of self-determination, and still less succeeded in doing away with all lack of clarity on the Negro question. In the party discussion the question was often wrongly put and much erroneous counterposing of phases of the question occurred; thus, for instance, should the slogan of social equality or the slogan of the right of self-determination of the Negroes be emphasized? Should only propaganda for the Negroes' right of self-determination be carried on, or should this slogan be considered as a slogan of action? Should separatist tendencies among the Negroes be supported or opposed? Is the southern region, thickly populated by Negroes, to be looked upon as a colony, or as an integral part of the national economy of the United States, where presumably a revolutionary situation cannot arise independent of the general revolutionary development in the United States?

In the interest of the utmost clarity of ideas on this question, the Negro question in the United States must be viewed from the standpoint of its peculiarity, namely, as the question of an oppressed nation, which is in a peculiar and extraordinarily distressing situation of national oppression, not only in view of the prominent racial distinctions (marked difference in the color of skin, etc.), but above all, because of considerable social antagonism (remnants of slavery). This introduces into the American Negro question an important, peculiar trait which is absent from the national question of other oppressed peoples. Furthermore, it is necessary to face clearly the inevitable distinction between the position of the Negro in the South and in the North, owing to the fact that at least three-fourths of the entire Negro population of the United States (12,000,000) live in compact masses in the South, most of them being peasants and agricultural laborers in a state of semiserfdom, settled in the Black Belt, and constituting the majority of the population, whereas the Negroes in the northern States are for the most part industrial workers of the lowest categories who have recently come to the various industrial centers from the South (having often even fled from there).

The struggle of the Communists for the equal rights of the Negroes applies to all Negroes, in the North as well as in the South. The struggle for this slogan embraces all or almost all of the important special interests of the Negroes in the North, but not in the South, where the main Communist slogan must be: The right of self-determination of the Negroes in the Black Belt. These two slogans, however, are most closely connected. The Negroes in the North are very much interested in winning the right of self-determination of the Negro population of the Black Belt and can thereby hope for strong support for the establishment of true equality of the Negroes in the North. In the South the Negroes are suffering no less, but still more than in the North from the glaring lack of all equality; for the most part the struggle for their most urgent partial demands in the Black Belt is nothing more than the struggle for their equal rights, and only the fulfillment of their main slogan, the right of self-determination in the Black Belt, can assure them of true equality.

I. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE EQUAL RIGHTS OF THE NEGROES

2. The basis for the demand of equality of the Negroes is provided by the special yoke to which the Negroes in the United States are subjected by the ruling classes. In comparison with the situation of the other various nationalities and races oppressed by American imperialism, the yoke of the Negroes in the United States is of a peculiar nature and particularly oppressive. This is partly due to the historical past of the American Negroes as imported slaves, but is much more due to the still-existing slavery of the American Negro, which is immediately apparent, for example, in comparing their situation even with the situation of the Chinese and Japanese workers in the West of the United States, or with the lot of the Filipinos (Malay race) who are under colonial repression.

It is only a Yankee bourgeois lie to say that the yoke of Negro slavery has been lifted in the United States. Formally it has been abolished, but in practice the great majority of the Negro masses in the South are living in slavery in the literal sense of the word. Formally they are "free" as "tenant farmers" or "contract laborers" on the big plantations of the white landowners, but actually they are completely in the power of their exploiters; they are not permitted, or else it is made impossible for them to leave their exploiters; if they do leave the plantations, they are brought back and in many cases whipped; many of them are simply taken prisoner under various pretexts and, bound together with long chains, they have to do compulsory labor on the roads. All through the South the Negroes are not only deprived of all rights and subjected to the arbitrary will of the white exploiters, but they are also socially ostracized; that is, they are treated in general not as human beings but as cattle. But this ostracism regarding Negroes is not limited to the South. Not only in the South but throughout the United States the lynching of Negroes is permitted to go unpunished. Everywhere the American bourgeoisie surrounds the Negroes with an atmosphere of social ostracism.

The 100-percent Yankee arrogance divides the American population into a series of castes, among which the Negroes constitute, so to speak, the caste of the "untouchables" who are in a still lower category than the lowest categories of human society, the immigrant laborers, the yellow immigrants, and the Indians. In all big cities the Negroes have to live in special segregated ghettos (and, of course, have to pay extremely high rent).

[Moscow questions the right of Americans to segregate Negroes, this in spite of a promise to Roosevelt not to propagate.]

In practice, marriage between Negroes and whites is prohibited, and in the South this is even forbidden by law. In various other ways the Negroes are segregated; and if they overstep the bounds of the segregation, they immediately run the risk of being ill-treated by the 100-percent bandits. As wage earners the Negroes are forced to perform the lowest and most difficult work; they generally receive lower wages than the white workers and do not always get the same wages as white workers doing similar work, and their treatment is the very worst. Many American Federation of Labor trade-unions do not admit Negro workers in their ranks and a number have organized special trade-unions for Negroes so that they will not have to let them into their "good white society."

This whole system of "segregation" and "Jim Crowism" is a special form of national and social oppression under which the American Negroes have much to suffer. The origin of all this is not difficult to find. This Yankee arrogance toward the Negroes stinks of the disgusting atmosphere of the old slave market. This is downright robbery and slave-whipping barbarism at the peak of capitalist "culture."

3. The demand for equal rights in our sense of the word means not only demanding the same rights for the Negroes as the whites have in the United States at the present time but also demanding that the Negroes should be granted all rights and other advantages which we demand for the corresponding oppressed classes of whites (workers and other toilers). Thus in our sense of the word the demand for equal rights means a continuous work of abolishment of all forms of economic and political oppression of the Negroes, as well as their social exclusion, the insults perpetrated against them, and their segregation. This is to be obtained by constant struggle by the white and black workers for effective legal protection for the Negroes in all fields, as well as actual enforcement of their equality and the combating of every expression of Negrophobia. One of the Communist slogans is "Death for Negro lynching."

The struggle for the equal rights of the Negroes does not in any way exclude recognition and support for the Negro's right to their own special schools, Government organs, and so forth, wherever the Negro masses put forward such national demands of their own accord. This will, however, in all probability occur to any great extent only in the Black Belt. In other parts of the country the Negroes suffer above all from being shut out from the general social institutions and not from being prohibited from setting up their own national institutions. With the development of the Negro intellectuals (principally in the "free" professions) and of a thin layer of small capitalist business people, there have appeared lately not only definite efforts for developing a purely national Negro culture, but also outspoken bourgeois tendencies toward Negro nationalism. The broad masses of the Negro population in the big industrial centers of the North are, however, making no efforts whatsoever to maintain and cultivate a national aloofness. They are, on the contrary, working for assimilation. This effort of the Negro masses can do much in the future to facilitate the progressive process of amalgamating the whites and Negroes into one Nation, and it is under no circumstances the task of the Communists to give support to bourgeois nationalism in its fight with the progressive assimilation tendencies of the Negro working masses.

4. The slogan of equal right of the Negroes without a relentless struggle in practice against all manifestations of negrophobia on the part of the American bourgeoisie can be nothing but a deceptive liberal gesture of a sly slave owner or his agent. This slogan is in fact repeated by "socialist" and many other bourgeois politicians and philanthropists, who want to get publicity for themselves by appealing to the "sense of justice" of the American bourgeoisie in the individual treatment of the Negroes, and thereby sidetrack attention from the one effective struggle against the shameful system of "white superiority"; from the class struggle against the American bourgeoisie. The struggle for equal rights for the Negroes is, in fact, one of the most important parts of the proletarian class struggle in the United States.

The struggle for equal rights for the Negroes must certainly take the form of common struggle by the white and black workers.

The increasing unity of the various working-class elements provokes constant attempts on the part of the American bourgeoisie to play one group against another, particularly the white workers against the black, and the black workers against the immigrant workers, and vice versa, and thus to promote the divisions within the working class, which contribute to the bolstering up of American capitalist rule. The party must carry on a ruthless struggle against all these attempts of the bourgeoisie and do everything to strengthen the bonds of class solidarity of the working class on a lasting basis.

In the struggle for equal rights for the Negroes, however, it is the duty of the white workers to march at the head of this struggle. They must everywhere make a breach in the walls of

segregation and Jim Crowism which have been set up by bourgeois slave-market morality. They must most ruthlessly unmask and condemn the hypocritical reformists and bourgeois "friends of Negroes" who, in reality, are only interested in strengthening the power of the enemies of the Negroes. They, the white workers, must boldly jump at the throat of the 100-percent bandits who strike a Negro in the face. This struggle will be the test of real international solidarity of the American white workers.

It is the special duty of the revolutionary Negro workers to carry on tireless activity among the Negro working masses to free them of their distrust of the white proletariat and draw them into the common front of the revolutionary class struggle against the bourgeoisie. They must emphasize with all force that the first rule of proletarian morality is that no worker who wants to be an equal member of his class must ever serve as a strike-breaker or a supporter of bourgeois politics. They must ruthlessly unmask all Negro politicians corrupted or directly bribed by American bourgeois ideology, who systematically interfere with the real proletarian struggle for equal rights for the Negroes.

Furthermore, the Communist Party must resist all tendencies within its own ranks to ignore the Negro question as a national question in the United States; not only in the South but also in the North. It is advisable for the Communist Party in the North to abstain from the establishment of any special Negro organizations, and in place of this to bring the black and white workers together in common organization of struggle and joint action. Effective steps must be taken for the organization of Negro workers in the Trade Union Unity League and revolutionary trade unions. Underestimation of this work takes various forms: Lack of energy in recruiting Negro workers, in keeping them in our ranks, and in drawing them into the full life of the trade unions, selecting, educating, and promoting Negro forces to leading functions in the organizations.

The party must make itself entirely responsible for the carrying through of this very important work. It is most urgently necessary to publish a popular mass paper dealing with the Negro question, edited by white and black comrades, and to have all active followers of this paper grouped organizationally.

II. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE NEGROES IN THE BLACK BELT

5. It is not correct to consider the Negro zone of the South as a colony of the United States. Such a characterization of the Black Belt could be based in some respects only upon artificially construed analogies and would create superfluous difficulties for the clarification of ideas. In rejecting this estimation, however, it should not be overlooked that it would be none the less false to try to make a fundamental distinction between the character of national oppression to which the colonial peoples are subjected and the yoke of other oppressed nations. Fundamentally, national oppression in both cases is of the same character and is in the Black Belt in many respects worse than a number of actual colonies. On one hand the Black Belt is not in itself, either economically or politically, such a united whole as to warrant its being called a special colony of the United States. But, on the other hand, this zone is not either economically or politically such an integral part of the whole United States as any other part of the country. Industrialization in the Black Belt is not as generally the case in colonies, properly speaking, in contradiction with the ruling interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie, which has in its hands the monopoly of all the industry; but insofar as industry is developed here, it will in no way bring a solution to the question of living conditions of the oppressed Negro majority nor to the agrarian question, which lies at the basis of the national question. On the contrary, this question is still further aggravated as a result of the increase of the contradictions arising from the procapitalist forms of exploitation of the Negro peasantry and of a considerable portion of the Negro proletariat (miners, forestry workers, etc.) in the Black Belt, and at the same time, owing to the industrial development here, the growth of the most important driving force of the national revolution, the black working class, is especially strengthened. Thus the prospect for the future is not an inevitable dying away of the national revolutionary Negro movement in the South, as Lovestone prophesied, but, on the contrary, a great advance of this movement and the rapid approach of a revolutionary crisis in the Black Belt.

6. Owing to the peculiar situation in the Black Belt (the fact that the majority of the resident Negro population are farmers and agricultural laborers and that the capitalist economic system as well as political class rule there is not only of a special kind, but to a great extent still has precapitalist and semicolonial features), the right of self-determination of the Negroes as the main slogan of the Communist Party in the Black Belt is appropriate. This, however, does not in any way mean that the struggle for equal rights for the Negroes in the Black Belt is less necessary or less well founded than it is in the North. On the contrary, here, owing to the whole situation, this struggle is even better founded; but the form of this slogan does not sufficiently correspond with the concrete requirements of the liberation struggle of the Negro population. Anyway, it is clear that in most cases it is a question of the daily conflicts of interest between the Negroes and the white rulers in the Black Belt on the subject of infringement of the most elementary equality rights of the Negroes by the whites. Daily events of the kind are: All Negro persecutions, all arbitrary economic acts of robbery by the white exploiters (Black Man's

Burden) and the whole system of so-called Jim-Crowism. Here, however, it is very important in connection with all these concrete cases of conflict to concentrate the attention of the Negro masses not so much on the general demands of mere equality, but much more on some of the revolutionary basic demands arising from the concrete situation.

The slogan of the right of self-determination occupies the central place in the liberation struggle of the Negro population in the Black Belt against the yoke of American imperialism. But this slogan, as we see it, must be carried out only in connection with two other basic demands. Thus, there are three basic demands to be kept in mind in the Black Belt, namely, the following:

(a) Confiscation of the landed property of the white landowners and capitalists for the benefit of the Negro farmers: The landed property in the hands of the white American exploiters constitutes the most important material basis of the entire system of national oppression and serfdom of the Negroes in the Black Belt. More than three-quarters of all Negro farmers here are bound in actual serfdom to the farms and plantations of the white exploiters by the feudal system of "sharecropping." Only on paper and not in practice are they freed from the yoke of their former slavery. The same holds completely true for the great mass of black contract laborers. Here the contract is only the capitalist expression of the chains of the old slavery, which even today are not infrequently applied in their natural iron form on the roads of the Black Belt (chain-gang work). These are the main forms of present Negro slavery in the Black Belt, and no breaking of the chains of this slavery is possible without confiscating all the landed property of the white masters. Without this revolutionary measure, without the agrarian revolution, the right of self-determination of the Negro population would be only a Utopia, or, at best, would remain only on paper without changing in any way the actual enslavement.

(b) Establishment of the state unity of the Black Belt: At the present time this Negro zone—precisely for the purpose of facilitating national oppression—is artificially split up and divided into a number of various states which include distant localities having a majority of white population. If the right of self-determination of the Negroes is to be put into force, it is necessary wherever possible to bring together into one governmental unit all districts of the South where the majority of the settled population consists of Negroes. Within the limits of this state there will of course remain a fairly significant white minority which must submit to the right of self-determination of the Negro majority. There is no other possible way of carrying out in a democratic manner the right of self-determination of the Negroes. Every plan regarding the establishment of the Negro state with an exclusively Negro population in America (and of course, still more exporting it to Africa) is nothing but an unreal and reactionary caricature of the fulfillment of the right of self-determination of the Negroes, and every attempt to isolate and transport the Negroes would have the most damaging effect upon their interests. Above all, it would violate the right of the Negro farmers in the Black Belt not only to their present residences and their land, but also to the land owned by the white landlords and cultivated by Negro labor.

(c) Right of self-determination: This means complete and unlimited right of the Negro majority to exercise governmental authority in the entire territory of the Black Belt, as well as to decide upon the relations between their territory and other nations, particularly the United States. It would not be right of self-determination in our sense of the word if the Negroes in the Black Belt had the right of self-determination only in cases which concerned exclusively the Negroes and did not affect the whites, because the most important cases arising here are bound to affect the whites as well as Negroes. First of all, true right to self-determination means that the Negro majority and not the white minority in the entire territory of the administratively united Black Belt exercises the right of administering governmental, legislative, and judicial authority. At the present time all this power is concentrated in the hands of the white bourgeoisie and landlords. It is they who appoint all officials, it is they who dispose of public property, it is they who determine the taxes, it is they who govern and make the laws. Therefore, the overthrow of this class rule in the Black Belt is unconditionally necessary in the struggle for the Negroes' right to self-determination. This, however, means at the same time the overthrow of the yoke of American imperialism in the Black Belt on which the forces of the local white bourgeoisie depend. Only in this way, only if the Negro population of the Black Belt wins its freedom from American imperialism even to the point of deciding itself the relations between its country and other governments, especially the United States, will it win real and complete self-determination. One should demand from the beginning that no armed forces of American imperialism should remain on the territory of the Black Belt.

7. As stated in the letter of the political secretariat of the E. C. C. I. of March 16, 1930, the Communists must "unreservedly carry on a struggle" for the self-determination of the Negro population in the Black Belt in accordance with what has been set forth above. It is incorrect and harmful to interpret the Communist standpoint to mean that the Communists stand for the right of self-determination of the Negroes only up to a certain point but not beyond this—to, for example, the right of separation. It is also incorrect to say that the Communists are only to carry on propaganda or agitation for the right of self-determination but not to

develop any activity to bring this about. No; it is of the utmost importance for the Communist Party to reject any such limitation of its struggle for this slogan. Even if the situation does not yet warrant the raising of the question of uprising, one should not limit oneself at present to propaganda for the demand "right to self-determination" but should organize mass actions, such as demonstrations, strikes, tax-boycott movements, etc.

Moreover, the party cannot make its stand for the slogan dependent upon any conditions, even the condition that the proletariat has the hegemony in the national revolutionary Negro movement or that the majority of the Negro population in the Black Belt adopts the soviet for (as PEPPER demanded), etc. It goes without saying that the Communists in the Black Belt will and must try to win over all working elements of the Negroes, that is, the majority of the population, to their side and to convince them not only that they must win the right of self-determination but also that they must make use of this right in accordance with the Communist program. But this cannot be made a condition for the stand of the Communists in favor of the right of self-determination of the Negro population. If, or so long as, the majority of this population wishes to handle the situation in the Black Belt in a different manner from that which we Communists would like, its complete right to self-determination must be recognized. This right we must defend as a free democratic right.

8. In general, the Communist Party of the United States has kept to this correct line recently in its struggle for the right of self-determination of the Negroes, even though this line—in some cases—has been unclearly or erroneously expressed. In particular, some misunderstanding has arisen from the failure to make a clear distinction between the demand for "right of self-determination" and the demand for governmental separation, simply treating these two demands in the same way. However, these two demands are not identical. Complete right to self-determination includes also the right to governmental separation, but does not necessarily imply that the Negro population should make use of this right in all circumstances; that is, that it must actually separate or attempt to separate the Black Belt from the existing governmental federation with the United States. If it desires to separate, it must be free to do so; but if it prefers to remain federated with the United States, it must also be free to do that. This is the correct meaning of the idea of self-determination, and it must be recognized quite independently of whether the United States is still a capitalist state or whether a proletarian dictatorship has already been established there.

It is, however, another matter if it is not a case of the right of the oppressed nation concerned to separate or to maintain governmental contact; but if the question is treated on its merits, whether it is to work for State separation, whether it is to struggle for this or not. This is another question, on which the stand of the Communists must vary according to the concrete conditions. If the proletariat has come into power in the United States, the Communist Negroes will not come out for, but against, separation of the Negro republic from federation with the United States. But the right of the Negroes to governmental separation will be unconditionally realized by the Communist Party; it will unconditionally give the Negro population of the Black Belt freedom of choice even on this question. Only when the proletariat has come into power in the United States the Communists will carry on propaganda among the working masses of the Negro population against separation in order to convince them that it is much better and in the interest of the Negro nation for the Black Belt to be a free republic, where the Negro majority has complete right of self-determination but remains governmentally federated with the great proletarian republic of the United States. The bourgeois counterrevolutionists, on the other hand, will then be interested in boosting the separation tendencies in the ranks of the various nationalities in order to utilize separatist nationalism as a barrier for the bourgeois counterrevolution against the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship.

But the question at the present time is not this. As long as capitalism rules in the United States the Communists cannot come out against governmental separation of the Negro zone from the United States. They recognize that this separation from the imperialist United States would be preferable, from the standpoint of the national interests of the Negro population, to their present oppressed state, and therefore the Communists are ready at any time to offer all their support if only the working masses of the Negro population are ready to take up the struggle for governmental independence of the Black Belt. At the present time, however, the situation in the national struggle in the South is not such as to win mass support of the working Negroes for this separatist struggle; and it is not the task of Communists to call upon them to separate without taking into consideration the existing situation and the desires of the Negro masses.

The situation in the Negro question in the United States, however, may undergo a radical change. It is even probable that the separatist efforts to obtain complete State independence of the Black Belt will gain ground among the Negro masses of the South in the near future. This is connected with the prospective sharpening of the national conflicts in the South, with the advance of the national revolutionary Negro movement, and with the exceptionally brutal Fascist aggressiveness of the white exploiters of the South, as well as with the support of this aggressiveness by the Central Government authority of the United States. In this sharpening of the situation in the South, Negro separatism will presumably increase, and the question of independence of the Black Belt

will become the question of the day. Then the Communist Party must also face this question and, if the circumstances seem favorable, must stand up with all strength and courage for the struggle to win independence and for the establishment of a Negro republic in the Black Belt.

9. The general relation of Communists to separatist tendencies among the Negroes, described above, cannot mean that Communists associate themselves at present, or generally speaking, during capitalism, indiscriminately and without criticism with all the separatist currents of the various bourgeois or petty bourgeois Negro groups. For there is not only a national revolutionary, but also a reactionary Negro separatism for instance that represented by Garvey. His Utopia of an isolated Negro state (regardless of whether in Africa or America, if it is supposed to consist of Negroes only) pursues only the political aim of diverting the Negro masses from the real liberation struggle against American imperialism.

It would be a mistake to imagine that the "right of self-determination" slogan is a truly revolutionary slogan only in connection with the demand for complete separation. The question of power is decided not only through the demand of separation, but just as much through the demand of the right to decide the separation question and self-determination in general. A direct question of power is also the demand of confiscation of the land of the white exploiters in the South, as well as the demand of the Negroes that the entire Black Belt be amalgamated into a state unit.

Hereby every single fundamental demand of the liberation struggle of the Negroes in the Black Belt is such that—if once thoroughly understood by the Negro masses and adopted as their slogan—it will lead them into the struggle for the overthrow of the power of the ruling bourgeoisie, which is impossible without such revolutionary struggle. One cannot deny that it is just possible for the Negro population of the Black Belt to win the right of self-determination during capitalism; but it is perfectly clear and indubitable that this is possible only through successful revolutionary struggle for power against the American bourgeoisie, through wresting the Negroes' right of self-determination from American imperialism. Thus the slogan of right to self-determination is a real slogan of national rebellion which, to be considered as such, need not be supplemented by proclaiming struggle for the complete separation of the Negro zone, at least not at present. But it must be made perfectly clear to the Negro masses that the slogan "Right to self-determination" includes the demand of full freedom for them to decide even the question of complete separation. We demand freedom of separation, real right of self-determination, wrote Lenin, "certainly not in order to 'recommend' separation, but on the contrary, in order to facilitate and accelerate the democratic rapprochement and unification of nations." For the same purpose Lenin's party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, bestowed after its seizure of power on all the peoples hitherto oppressed by Russian Tsarism, the full right to self-determination, including the right of complete separation, and achieved thereby its enormous successes with regard to the democratic rapprochement and voluntary unification of nations.

10. The slogan for the right of self-determination and the other fundamental slogans of the Negro question in the Black Belt do not exclude but rather presuppose an energetic development of the struggle for concrete partial demands linked up with the daily needs and afflictions of wide masses of working Negroes. In order to avoid, in this connection, the danger of opportunist backsliding, Communists must above all remember this:

(a) The direct aims and partial demands around which a partial struggle develops are to be linked up in the course of the struggle with the revolutionary fundamental slogans brought up by the question of power, in a popular manner corresponding to the mood of the masses. (Confiscation of the big landholdings, establishment of governmental unity of the Black Belt, right of self-determination of the Negro population in the Black Belt.) Bourgeois-socialist tendencies to oppose such a revolutionary widening and deepening of the fighting demands must be fought.

(b) One should not venture to draw up a complete program of some kind or a system of "positive" partial demands. Such programs on the part of petty bourgeois politicians should be exposed as attempts to divert the masses from the necessary hard struggles by fostering reformist and democratic illusions among them. Every positive partial demand which might crop up is to be considered from the viewpoint of whether it is in keeping with our revolutionary fundamental slogans or whether it is of a reformist or reactionary tendency. Every kind of national oppression which arouses the indignation of the Negro masses can be used as a suitable point of departure for the development of partial struggles, during which the abolition of such oppressions, as well as their prevention through revolutionary struggle against the ruling exploiting dictatorship, must be demanded.

(c) Everything should be done to bring wide masses of Negroes into these partial struggles. This is important—and not to carry the various partial demands to such an ultraradical point that the mass of working Negroes are no longer able to recognize them as their own. Without a real mobilization of the mass movements—in spite of the sabotage of the bourgeois reformist Negro politicians—even the best Communist partial demands get hung up. On the other hand, even some relatively insignificant acts of the Ku Klux Klan bandits in the Black Belt can overcome the occasion of important political movements, provided the Communists are able to organize the resistance of the indignant Negro masses. In such cases mass movements of this kind can easily develop into real rebellion. This rests on the fact that, as Lenin said, "Every

act of national oppression calls forth resistance on the part of the masses of the population, and the tendency of every act of resistance on the part of oppressed peoples is the national uprising."

(d) Communists must fight in the forefront of the national liberation movement and must do their utmost for the progress of this mass movement and its revolutionization. Negro Communists must clearly dissociate themselves from all bourgeois currents in the Negro movement, must indefatigably oppose the spread of the influence of the bourgeois groups on the working Negroes. In dealing with them they must apply the Communist tactic laid down by the Sixth C. I. Congress with regard to the colonial question, in order to guarantee the hegemony of the Negro proletariat in the national liberation movement of the Negro population, and to coordinate wide masses of the Negro peasantry in a steady fighting alliance with the proletariat.

(e) One must work with the utmost energy for the establishment and consolidation of Communist Party organizations and revolutionary trade unions in the South. Furthermore, immediate measures must be taken for the organizations of proletarian and peasant self-defense against the Ku Klux Klan. For this purpose the Communist Party is to give further instructions.

11. It is particularly incumbent on Negro Communists to criticize consistently the half-heartedness and hesitations of the petty-bourgeois national-revolutionary Negro leaders in the liberation struggle of the Black Belt, exposing them before the masses. All national reformist currents as, for instance, Garveyism, which are an obstacle to the revolutionization of the Negro masses, must be fought systematically and with the utmost energy. Simultaneously, Negro Communists must carry on among the Negro masses an energetic struggle against nationalist moods directed indiscriminately against all whites, workers as well as capitalists, Communists as well as imperialists. Their constant call to the Negro masses must be: Revolutionary struggle against the ruling white bourgeoisie, through a fighting alliance with the revolutionary white proletariat. Negro Communists must indefatigably explain to the mass of the Negro population that even if many white workers in America are still infected with Negrophobia, the American proletariat, as a class, which, owing to its struggle against the American bourgeoisie, represents the only truly revolutionary class, will be the only real mainstay of Negro liberation. Insofar as successes in the national-revolutionary struggle of the Negro population of the South for its right to self-determination are already possible under capitalism, they can be achieved only if this struggle is effectively supported by proletarian mass actions on a large scale in the other parts of the United States. But it is also clear that "only a victorious proletarian revolution will finally decide the agrarian question and the national question in the South of the United States, in the interest of the predominating mass of the Negro population of the country" (Colonial Thesis of the Sixth World Congress).

12. The struggle regarding the Negro question in the North must be linked up with the liberation struggle in the South, in order to endow the Negro movement throughout the United States with the necessary effective strength. After all, in the North, as well as in the South, it is a question of the real emancipation of the American Negroes, which has in fact never taken place. The Communist Party of the United States must bring into play its entire revolutionary energy, in order to mobilize the widest possible masses of the white and black proletariat of the United States, not by words but by deeds, for real effective support of the struggle for the liberation of the Negroes. Enslavement of the Negroes is one of the most important foundations of the imperialist dictatorship of United States capitalism. The more American imperialism fastens its yoke on the millions-strong Negro masses the more must the Communist Party develop the mass struggle for Negro emancipation, and the better use it must make of all conflicts which arise out of the national difference as an incentive for revolutionary mass actions against the bourgeoisie. This is as much in the direct interest of the proletarian revolution in America. Whether the rebellion of the Negroes is to be the outcome of a general revolutionary situation in the United States, whether it is to originate in the whirlpool of decisive fights for power by the working class, for proletarian dictatorship, or whether, on the contrary, the Negro rebellion will be the prelude of gigantic struggles for power by the American essential for the Communist Party to make an energetic beginning now—at the present moment—with the organization of joint mass struggles of white and black workers against Negro oppression. This alone will enable us to get rid of the bourgeois white chauvinism which is polluting the ranks of the white workers in America, to overcome the distrust of the Negro masses caused by the inhuman barbarous Negro slave traffic still carried on by the American bourgeoisie—inasmuch as it is directed even against all white workers—and to win over to our side these millions of Negroes as active fellow fighters in the struggle for the overthrow of bourgeois power throughout America.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, I wish I had the time and patience to read to the Senate what I have just had inserted. But I have put it into the Record so that the people of the country may know just what the leaders of the Communist Party are thinking about and are dreaming of accomplishing in the South. When any political party advances the proposal to go to the South and take advantage of 8,000,000 Negroes and organize them and encourage and incite them to revolution, holding out to them the hope that they will be

able to take the white man's land away from him and elect the officers—which is all covered in this resolution—and control the making of the laws and control the Government, the people of the country should know it. They emphasize the fact that the South should be dedicated and set aside as the Black Belt of America, and that the Negro should be put in control of that entire territory. That is the Communist program in the South. Of course, that is a dream. Some Negroes will fall for it, but there will be a sad awakening if the attempt is made to put it into effect.

Since this debate on the antilynching bill has been in progress I announced that I had received a petition from a very wonderful lady of my State, who is the head of the antilynching organization of Mississippi, asking if I would give my aid in doing whatever I could to put a stop to lynching in the State, and I am glad to announce to the Senate and to the country that while in Mississippi we have laws providing for the removal from office and prosecution of any sheriff who would wink at mob violence or a lynching, yet we are attempting to fortify, to make stronger the law, and I now ask permission to include as part of my remarks at this point, without affecting my position on standing, a bill which has just been introduced in the Mississippi Legislature imposing a heavy penalty upon one who is guilty of lynching or any sheriff who would wink at it. This measure provides a heavier penalty than the bill we now have under consideration here.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi asks unanimous consent that a certain matter may be printed in the Record without prejudicing his right to the floor. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The bill referred to is as follows:

An act to define lynching and to provide penalties therefor, and for other purposes

MOBS AND LYNCHING DEFINED

SECTION 1.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi—That a collection of people, assembled for the purpose and with the intention of committing an assault and/or battery upon any person and without authority of law, shall be deemed a "mob" for the purpose of this act; and any act of violence by a "mob" upon the body of any person, which shall result in the death of such person, shall constitute a "lynching" within the meaning of this act.

LYNCHING DEEMED MURDER

SEC. 2. The "lynching" of any person within this State by a "mob" shall be deemed murder, and any and every person composing a "mob" and any and every accessory thereto, by which any person is lynched, shall be guilty of murder, and upon conviction, shall be punished as provided by law.

ASSAULT AND BATTERY BY MOB CONSTITUTES FELONY

SEC. 3. Any and every person composing a "mob" which shall commit an assault and/or battery upon any person without authority of law, shall be guilty of a felony, and upon conviction, shall be confined in the penitentiary for not less than 1 year nor more than 10 years; *Provided, however*, That if such injury shall result in the death of such person, each and every principal and accessory of such "mob," and accessory thereto, shall be guilty of murder, and, upon conviction, shall be punished as provided by law.

DUTY OF DISTRICT ATTORNEY IN COUNTY WHERE LYNCHING OCCURRED

SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of the attorney for the district or city in which a "lynching" may occur, to promptly and diligently endeavor to ascertain the identity of the persons who in any way participated therein, or who composed the "mob" which perpetrated the same, and have them apprehended, and to promptly proceed with the prosecution of any and all persons so found; and to the end that such offenders may not escape proper punishment, such district attorney may be assisted in all such endeavors and prosecutions, by the attorney general, or other prosecutors designated by the Governor for the purpose; and the Governor shall have full authority to spend such sums out of his contingent fund as he may deem necessary for the purpose of seeking out the identity, and apprehending the members of such guilty "mob."

CIVIL LIABILITY FOR LYNCHING

SEC. 5. Nothing herein contained shall be construed to relieve any member of any such mob from civil liability to the personal representative of the victim of such lynching.

PERSONS SUFFERING DEATH FROM MOB ATTEMPTING TO LYNCH ANOTHER PERSON

SEC. 6. Any person suffering death from a mob attempting to lynch another person, shall come within the provisions of this act,

and his personal representatives shall be entitled to relief in the same manner and to the same extent as if he were the originally intended victim of such mob.

JURISDICTION

SEC. 7. Jurisdiction of all actions and prosecutions under any of the provisions of this act, shall be in the circuit court of the county wherein a lynching may occur.

SEC. 8. That this act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, in this morning's mail I received a letter from a distinguished citizen of Washington in which he enclosed an article which he has prepared for publication on the question I have been urging before the Senate—the question of repatriation—and I desire to read it into the RECORD, because it is an exceedingly able document. It was published in the Southern Churchman of July 15, 1919:

WILL EDUCATION SOLVE THE RACE PROBLEM?

(By M. D. Carter)

In a recent issue of one of our leading southern journals, under the caption "Better Negro Schools," occurred a statement which will, I think, have a tendency to mislead public opinion, becloud one of the gravest issues right now before the country, and strengthen the common fallacy that education will eventually solve the race question and make the Negro an assimilable element in the national life of this country.

That is a thought which I desire to burn home into the minds of my hearers and the minds of the readers of the Nation, and in the mind of every citizen of this country. There are a few misguided educators, so-called, negrophilists, or Negro lovers, sociologists, philanthropists, Christian fanatics, who have an idea that by educating the Negro he can be made the equal of the white man. The difference between the white man and the Negro is not because of the color of the skin. The difference is the difference in the intellect, in the brain, in the mind, in that something in the mind that will be found in the Anglo-Saxon, in the Caucasian race, that mysterious force which has made the white man throughout all time the leader, which has made his race the superior race, the ruling race, the race of creative power, the race of art, the race of literature, the race of music that moves the soul. President Theodore Roosevelt said that within 50 years the Negro melodies of the South will be considered the classic music of America. He never made a greater mistake in his life. But I wish to drive home to Senators and to the country that education will not make the change. The difference between the races comes from something that is inborn.

I read further from Mr. Carter's article:

I refer to the following extract: "Taking \$100 as the yearly production of the uneducated Negro, the bulletin gives a careful estimate of the financial loss to the State * * *. The State also bears its share of soil devastation in the South where 100,000,000 acres are cultivated by Negro farmers, tenants, and laborers, most of whom have never been taught the rudiments of successful agriculture."

The acreage given above covers approximately the entire arable acreage of the South, and this statement leads fairly to the conclusion that all the farm work in the South is done by Negroes and that an educated Negro is a more efficient farm hand than an uneducated one. These inferences are not borne out by the facts.

In the last census report it was stated that only three-tenths of the farm work was at that time being done by Negroes; the remaining seven-tenths being done by white labor.

Many of the negrophilists have been charging that we white farmers of the South have reduced the Negro to slavery and that he is in peonage. Senators have been reading a good deal of "rot" like that issued by some of the Communist leaders and newspapers of the North. I have here statistics which show that three-tenths of the farm labor of the South is done by the Negroes, and the balance is performed by the white people of the South.

Let us bear in mind that it is now nearly 9 years since the last census report was made, and since that time there has been a steady and ever-increasing exodus of the Negro from the country to the city; so it is doubtful if now even two-tenths of the farm work is done by him.

In other words, when the Negro is educated he cannot be kept on the farm. He is then caught in the spell of the bright lights of the city. The close union he has with others

in the congested city life, and the noise and the music of the city, calls him as soon as he is educated, whether he is educated to be a farmer or something else. He leaves the farm and goes to the city. It is not possible to keep him on the farm.

I read in a recent Philadelphia paper that in 3 months over 20,000 Negroes had come to that city alone, that the authorities were taxed to the uttermost to provide for them, but still they continued to come. Now I do not say that a Negro could not be made a more productive farmer if given special training for his work, but I do say that the present education given him in the country schools rather impairs than increases his efficiency on the farm. I live in an agricultural district and come in contact with Negro farm workers, and my experience leads fairly to this conclusion. But even giving him a special agricultural education would not assist in the solution of this question if he refuses to live on the farm or decides to go to the city, which he is evidently doing very rapidly; so in considering this problem we are forced to think of it in the main as a city problem.

In other words, the Negro is rapidly leaving the farm. On my little farm, out of twenty-odd tenants or families, I think three are Negro. It is a hard matter to get the Negro to stay on the farm. Once you educate him and give him a little vision, he goes to the city or to the town. That is happening all through this country. They are segregated and piled up, 15 or 20 in a one-room house in town, living off the W. P. A. That is true all over this country, especially in the South. They have quit work. They have "taken out." They have called it a day—"the end of a perfect day."

Will education solve, or help to solve, our city race problem, which will soon be the only phase of it with which we will have to deal? I question it. In all of our cities the Negro has the same educational advantages as his white neighbor. Has this lessened the friction between the races? As he becomes more highly educated, does his race pride increase, and make him willing to develop along race lines and become the highest exponent of his own race? Does it not rather make him more anxious to force his presence on his reluctant white neighbors? Witness what is going on right now in Baltimore and Washington and other cities, how he is constantly becoming more aggressive as he becomes better educated.

In other words, as the Negro is educated, it seems he becomes more desirous of amalgamation with the whites.

Witness how the whites move out as the Negroes move into a neighborhood, how real-estate values decrease as the Negro population increases. Witness the frantic efforts being made by the Equal Rights League for the abolition of the Jim Crow laws and all other restrictions that permit the white race to flock by itself, if it wishes. Witness also the action of the returned Negro soldiers forcing themselves into white restaurants, and the resulting riotings. This does not augur well for the happiness of either race.

That reminds me of a story about a couple of Negroes who went to France, where they were received socially by the French women. On their way back to America, one Negro said:

"Do you know what I'se goin' to do when I gets back to America?"

"What are you goin' to do?"

"I is goin' to get me a white gal, and I is goin' to the theater, I is goin' to church, I is goin' to picnics, and I is goin' to have the time of my life."

The other Negro said:

"I'll tell you what I is goin' to do."

"What is you goin' to do?"

"I is goin' to buy me a long-tailed coat, and get me some white gloves and a beaver hat."

"What is you goin' to dress up that-a-way for?"

"I is fixing to go to your funeral." [Laughter.]

That is what is happening in the cities now. The Negroes are pushing in as they become more and more educated. I think we have just about performed our Christian duty to them, and it is now time that the education and culture imposed on the Negroes in America by the white race be utilized by the Negroes in settling a country of their own in Africa. I think they are ready to go.

How does the educated Negro propose to solve this problem? Listen to the faith of a few of them: A distinguished Negro college professor recently expressed himself as to the future of the American Negro, in one of our great periodicals as follows:

"All race prejudice will be eradicated. Physically the new race will be much stronger than either the white or black race. It will be endowed with a higher intelligence and a clearer concep-

tion of God than the whites of the West have ever had. It will be much less material than the American white of today. It will be especially concerned with the things of the mind and moral excellence will become the dominant factor in the life of the new nation. The new race is to gain more from the black element than from the white."

I wonder how some of our white negrophilists feel about that statement. The "theme song" of this future brown race is just what I have read. I am reading from the statement of one of the leading Negro intellectuals in the United States. I read it again:

All race prejudice will be eradicated.

I notice my good Methodist friends had a meeting in Chicago the other day. As a part of their program all race prejudice was to be eradicated and civil rights enforced.

Physically the new race will be much stronger than either the white or black race.

That is what the Negro thinks when he mixes with the whites by cross-breeding.

It will be endowed with a higher intelligence and a clearer conception of God than the whites of the west have ever had. It will be much less material than the American white of today.

Contact some of our "high browns" and see if that statement is true. This is the way that state of mind is working:

It will be especially concerned with the things of the mind, and moral excellence will become the dominant factor in the life of the new nation. The new race is to gain more from the black element than from the white.

How do the negrophilists feel about that statement? The college professor I mentioned is referring to the new brown race which will be the result of amalgamation of the two races living side by side. This prominent Negro says that as the result of the amalgamation of the two races, the new race will get more from the black man than it gets from the white man.

Professor DuBois, author of *The Souls of Black Folk*, undoubtedly believes this. Charles W. Chestnut, the Negro novelist, believes in amalgamation. Professor Kelly, of Washington, believes in it. In an article written sometime ago, he declares:

"It is, of course, impossible to conceive of two races occupying the same area, speaking the same language, worshipping according to the same ritual, and endowed with the same political and civil privileges, without ultimately fusing. Social equality is not an individual matter, as many contend, but is rigorously under the control of public sentiment."

That is what Negro Kelly, of Washington, says. I want to read that again for the benefit of some Washingtonians:

It is, of course, impossible to conceive of the two races occupying the same area—

Washington—
speaking the same language—

Washington—
worshipping according to the same ritual—

Washington—
and endowed with the same political and civil privileges—

Washington—
without ultimately fusing.

That means intermarriage, interbreeding, coalescing, complete blending. Then there will be produced the yellow race, of which many of those living today will be in part the paternal and maternal originators.

Booker Washington was too wise to express his real sentiments on this subject for fear it would put an end to his career in the South, yet he who reads between the lines of his written and spoken words will find the same purpose and the same faith which his more blunt and fearless brethren have honestly and boldly proclaimed. He shows this in his worship of Frederick Douglass. In his book, *The Future of the American Negro*, we find this careful statement:

"To state in detail just what place the black man will occupy in the South as a citizen is beyond the wisdom of anyone."

Booker Washington would not say it.

Again he says on page 66: "The Jew, who was once in about the same position as the Negro today, has now recognition because he has entwined himself about America in a business and industrial way."

On behalf of the Jew, I deny that statement. Some of the greatest citizens of this Republic and some of the greatest benefactors of the human race have been of Jewish extraction. They came from the Caucasian strain, and were of Caucasian blood. They were white people.

His conclusion is obvious. The absurdity of the comparison, however, is the important point in this sentence, not only for the pathetic ignorance of history it displays, but for the revelation of the writer's secret hopes and dreams.

Are we willing to accept the educated Negro's solution of this problem? Are we willing to solve our race problem as Central America has solved hers? If not, is it not high time for the conspiracy of silence on this subject to be broken, and for us to let him know frankly our position, and to seek, before conditions become too acute, some other solution?

Since the War between the States this country has spent about \$1,000,000,000 on the education of the Negro, and if this education has increased the friction between the races, as it seems at first sight to have done, it looks discouraging; but there are some indications right now that we have been building wiser than we knew when we spent this immense sum on him, for the education that is a liability for him in this country, that unfits him for peaceful assimilation here, may be an asset to him somewhere else.

I quote below some very significant extracts from recent periodicals, which open up a vast vista of possibilities for the educated Negro, and that point to a solution of this vexed question, in the interests of both races, a solution that will give the educated Negro a broad scope for all his talents—an opportunity to be of untold use to his own race, both industrially and spiritually, which will also help us to solve the biggest and most difficult item in our 5-year missionary program, i. e., the evangelization of Africa, and eventually and gradually leave the United States free for the Caucasian races.

CHANCE TO EMIGRATE

"TUSKEGEE, ALA., December 1.—President Robert R. Moton, of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, who was called to Washington last week for a conference with President Wilson and Secretary of State Lansing, sailed for France today, according to a telegraphic despatch here this evening. Professor Moton goes on a special mission for the Government.

"January 25. Judging from a close observation of the daily proceedings of the Peace Commission, now in session in Paris, it appears that the grand dream of the American Negro, 'A mule and 40 acres,' may at last be realized.' Thus spoke a prominent official of the Federal Government yesterday at his office in the customhouse. * * * 'I do not really know what to term it,' he resumed, 'but you will doubtless recall that at the Peace Conference the proposition has been made that something more than 3,000,000 square miles of territory in South Africa will be opened and devoted to the settlement of the colored persons who are now residents of the United States and other points.'

"Here, then, is the one grand opportunity for the Negro race to emigrate to the 'Promised Land.' In the great expanse of fertile fields in unexplored Africa, their future rests entirely in their own hands."

Extracts from a letter written in a New York paper by a Presbyterian missionary living in Liberia:

Now, listen to this:

"Rev. Dr. Cassell, president of the College of Liberia, has been touring the States, pleading the interests of that Negro republic. He says that Africa, in the readjustment which is now taking place at the world's great conference, is going to be assigned its proper place; and its people are to be no longer exploited, but that justice and fair play will be established there.

"He says that God places a duty upon Afro-Americans, to whom He has given such wonderful opportunities, to go into Africa and build it up and establish their democracy in religion, in politics, in sociology, and to prove Liberia to be the open door to democracy."

Thus it seems that the education given the Negro may have been really the first step in God's plan for his repatriation, and later his use as an instrument for the industrial development and evangelization of his own race and continent. Also, the realization of the plan of the southern Protestant denominations, who in antebellum days worked so indefatigably for his industrial and spiritual development. This may mean also a fulfillment, at last, of the prayer and hope of the highest spiritual exponent of the Negro race in this country, Bishop Henry M. Turner (of Georgia).

Mr. President, I wish to read for the delectation and gratification of the Senate a copy of resolutions adopted on January 20, 1938, by Branch 2, Communist Party, 114 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

RESOLUTION ON WAGNER-VAN NUYS ANTILYNCHING BILL

JANUARY 20, 1938.

At a meeting of Branch 2 of the Communist Party of the United States of America attended by members, friends, and neighbors of the Twelfth Assembly District, Manhattan, the following resolution was passed.

Whereas, the reactionary filibuster of the 11 Senators who are leading the shameful fight against the Wagner-Van Nuys antilynching bill is a criminal sabotage of the democratic rights, not only of the Negro people, but of the rights of the entire American people; and

Whereas, the passage of the Van Nuys-Wagner antilynching bill is of vital importance in order to preserve elementary human and civil rights as guaranteed by the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments of the Constitution of the United States, for the Negro people, rights which are daily being flouted, as witnessed by the hundreds of lynchings which have taken place in this country, and which are a blot on the democratic traditions of this country, and

Whereas, the cynical behavior of the 11 Senators in supporting the filibuster is a shocking action which does not express the sentiments of the working and liberty-loving people of this country;

I wonder what a Communist knows about "liberty-loving"?

Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Branch 2 of the Communist Party of the United States of America go on record—

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, may we have order in the Senate while the Senator from Mississippi is reading the resolution adopted by the Communist Party denouncing some of the Members of the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER rapped with his gavel.

Mr. BILBO. I thank the Senator from Texas for the silence I should like to have while I read the "resoluting" part of this resolution.

Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Branch 2 of the Communist Party of the United States of America go on record as strongly supporting this bill; and be it further

Resolved, That since the Communist Party has always been in the forefront of the fight for Negro and other minority group rights and against all forms of racial intolerance and bigotry, that we demand the immediate cessation of the filibuster against this bill and urge that everything possible be done for its speedy passage.

BRANCH 2, COMMUNIST PARTY,
114 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

There is an example of the Russian Government in action in America.

I wish now I had read the resolution adopted by the Communist meeting in Philadelphia, but I have put it in the RECORD so that the people of the country may read it in the light of the resolution I have just read attacking those of us on the floor of the Senate who are trying to conserve, preserve, save, and pass on an unravished Constitution to our children and our children's children by defeating the efforts of some of our friends to pass a measure that would destroy the dual scheme of government in this country.

Mr. President, as the hour of taking a recess is approaching, I wish to make some observations off the immediate subject pending before the Senate. I have sufficient material to enable me to discuss this question for about 60 days, as I promised, but some things have happened recently to which I should like to advert for a few moments.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, may I ask the able Senator from Mississippi, in view of the resolution he has just read, coming from those who call themselves Communists and making allusion to actions here in the Senate, and particularly allusion to the Negro as being a political protégé of their own, has the Senator had put before him some of the resolutions in which the Negroes themselves have condemned this attempt upon the part of the Communists and in which they have renounced the Communists as being their representatives?

Mr. BILBO. I am sorry to say, in response to the Senator, that I have not; I have no such resolutions; and I seriously doubt whether there are any in existence, because I think the private organization that is operating in this country is making considerable headway in enlisting the sympathy of a certain element of the Negro population for the Communist set-up in our land. It might be worth our while to do a little investigating. I put into the RECORD a letter from a gentleman in New York who gave me the names of the persons who were in position to give us the basis upon which the investigation may be made and the truth be brought to the attention of the country.

The extraneous matter to which I wish to direct the attention of the Senate for a minute is the proposed boycotting of Japan by American citizens through their refusing to buy or wear any silk hosiery or silk wearing apparel.

I do not hesitate to state as a Senator that my sympathies are entirely with the Chinese in their fight against the aggressions and conquest of their more fortunate neighbors, the Japanese—who, by the way, have during the past 60 years adopted the ideas of the western man, and imbibed his culture and civilization, and taken advantage of his creative genius. They are using his machinery, his ammunition, and his guns to carry on their conquest of China.

Ordinarily I should say that I should be in sympathy with the boycott against Japan, in the refusal of Americans to wear silk hosiery or silk apparel of any kind. But, as has been said, there are two sides to that question, and I desire to call the attention of the Senate to the other side. I thought I had the material with me, but I seem to have left it at my office; there is so much of it.

The manufacturers of silk wearing apparel in this country and the manufacturers of silk hosiery have considerable money invested in the industry. They buy only the raw silk in bales from the Japanese. Here, in this country, it is twisted together and made into the thread that is used in the manufacture of the hosiery, the silk wearing apparel, and so forth. In other words, it requires expensive machinery and considerable investment on the part of the American manufacturer to get ready to handle the manufacture of silk in this country. Not only would a boycott of silk products be a hardship on our citizens who have so much money invested in this specially designed machinery for weaving and manufacturing hosiery out of silk, but there are 75,000 or 100,000 citizens of this country who through a number of years have been trained to operate this particular kind of machinery, and are engaged in the manufacture of silk hosiery and silk fabrics. Therefore, there are two sides to the question, and while we may be able to affect the Japanese in his finances—and that is the attempt; that is where we are trying to strike him and cripple him—by not buying his raw silk, while we are doing that we shall be destroying very valuable industries of our own, and putting out of employment a great many of our own people. God knows we now have enough unemployment in this country, and I doubt whether we shall do the Japanese very much harm in proportion, because the amount of actual Japanese money represented by a pair of silk stockings is only about 10 cents. If you pay 85 cents for the pair of stockings, the Jap has gotten only 10 cents out of it, and 75 cents goes to the American industrialist and to American labor. In other words, we get the raw silk very cheaply.

I should be willing to join in any movement and to encourage any movement which would make it impossible for Japan to carry on its war of aggression in China, because I think it is cruel. It is heartless. It is inexcusable. I know that as a result of this war of aggression there have been brought about complications that do not speak well for the relationship between this country and Japan. I know there is a feeling and a strained relation, possibly, as the result of sinking the *Panay*, and also as the result of slapping the face of one of our representatives in the Far East; and there is a possibility of other complications unless we get our forces out of the disturbed territory in the Far East.

I desire to take this occasion to state that I have no patience with the resolution which was read earlier in the day, whereby an attempt is to be made to ask the Secretary of State to reveal to the Senate the delicate international relationships which sometimes exist, the inference being left that we are on our way to war. I think there is nothing to it. It is a scarecrow. It is a false alarm. It is a play of politics. It is the kind of play that does not speak well for the country, and is not good for the country.

I am willing to trust the Secretary of State and the President and the others in authority to do everything that is humanly and governmentally possible to keep this country out of war. There is no intention of engaging in war just because the President has asked for \$800,000,000 to build

us an adequate Navy for our defense. On the other hand, I have no patience with the pacifists who are all the time trying to sabotage any scheme or any effort that is made to give us the best army and the best navy on the face of the earth. I am in favor of that kind of navy and that kind of army; and I should be glad to add a couple of hundred million dollars to the appropriation to build more airplanes and bombing planes in this program of \$800,000,000 for the Navy, and the necessary vessels that go with the warships. Not enough airplanes are provided for.

In other words, so far as the pacifists are concerned, I want to put myself on record once for all as being in favor of the United States having the biggest, strongest army and navy of any nation on earth. Then we shall be respected. Then we shall not be insulted. Then our ships will not be sunk. Then our officials abroad, representing the American flag, will not be slapped in the face by some greasy oriental.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ELLENDER in the chair). Does the Senator from Mississippi yield to the Senator from North Carolina?

Mr. BILBO. I shall be glad to yield.

Mr. REYNOLDS. In order that I may intelligently propound to the Senator the question I have in mind, I should like to be privileged to preface the question with a statement.

Mr. BILBO. The Senator has my permission.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I think, under the rules, it will be perfectly permissible.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi may yield for a question to the Senator from North Carolina without losing the floor.

Mr. REYNOLDS. In view of the fact—

Mr. BILBO. It is understood I am not losing the floor.

Mr. CONNALLY. A point of order. I think the Chair ought to put the unanimous-consent request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from North Carolina? The Chair hears none.

Mr. CONNALLY. That the Senator from North Carolina be allowed to interrupt the Senator from Mississippi without the Senator from Mississippi losing the floor.

Mr. BILBO. The Senator from North Carolina wishes to preface his question with a short declamation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair hears no objection.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, I have in mind a very excellent statement which my able colleague, the Senator from the State of Mississippi, has just made with reference to national defense. I am heartily in accord with all he has said in reference to the expenditure of money in sufficient amount to provide the United States of America a Navy unsurpassed by any in the world.

In view of the fact that we shall eventually be called upon, and at a not very distant date in the future, for appropriations for this purpose, I invite attention to the fact that the Aleutian Islands are a part and portion of the great Territory of Alaska, which we purchased from Russia for \$7,200,000; that we are in a large sense protected on the Pacific, at least will be when we provide the proper naval and airplane bases in the northern section of the Pacific, that is to say, adjacent to our possessions there; that we have in a large sense a very fine protection in the Hawaiian Islands. In view of these facts, and the further consideration that we are well provided for by way of the Panama Canal, through which our fleet may pass from the Pacific to the Atlantic, does not the Senator think we should have other points of vantage in respect to bases on the Atlantic coast?

Of course, we have protection at the present time by way of the island of Cuba, and we are on friendly terms with Haiti, and the other republic which occupies a portion of the same island, the Dominican Republic. We are the possessors of the Virgin Islands, having bought them in 1916 for \$25,000,000; but does not the Senator think that in addition to that protection in the South Atlantic we should have points

of protection in the northern portion of the Atlantic, for instance, Bermuda, Bimini, and Nassau, which islands and 200 other smaller ones lie just a few hundred miles directly off the coast of my State of North Carolina? If we possessed these islands, I am of the opinion that we would be much better protected in the northern Atlantic than we are at the present time.

Does not the Senator think that the United States should likewise be protected by becoming the possessors perhaps of Halifax and of Newfoundland? Labrador, indeed, would be a little too far north.

I make these suggestions because one of these days the United States might have difficulty with a friendly nation, Great Britain. One can never tell what is going to happen, as the able Senator from Mississippi realizes. He recalls that we had some controversy with Great Britain in the Revolutionary days, in 1776, and again in 1812, and we cannot tell what is going to happen in the future.

In view of the fact that my very courteous colleague has provided me this opportunity, I respectfully suggest that if Great Britain wants to be friendly with us, if she wants the respect and the love of the American people, if Great Britain wants to show that she is on the "up and up," in other words, to use the everyday street parlance, that she is "on the level" with the people of the United States, I ask the able Senator from the State of Mississippi whether it would not be well for Great Britain to evidence that desire in a spirit of honesty and integrity by saying, "We shall be very happy, Uncle Sam, to turn over to you Bermuda, Nassau, Bimini, and other possessions in the North Atlantic, if you will be good enough to apply them on the \$6,000,000,000 indebtedness we have owed you, for which we have the money to pay you now, but do not want to pay you."

I thank the able Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. BILBO. In response to the Senator's question, I should be perfectly willing to apply whatever amount was left upon the proposed purchase of the islands referred to after we have purchased enough territory in Africa to take care of 12,000,000 American Negroes. [Laughter.]

Going back now to the warfare upon the Japanese through a boycott, because of our sympathies for the Chinese nation, which is being harassed, invaded, oppressed, wrecked, and destroyed by the ambitious Japanese, I cannot say that I could approve of a boycott, or a declaration that we should not buy more silk hosiery or any more silk fabrics if made in this country, but I wish to make an observation and advance a suggestion which will go to the very heart of the Japanese nation, and we can accomplish our purpose in a very short time.

Anyone who knows anything about the production of silk by the silkworm, I am sure, would be convinced, if he would make an investigation, that in the southern part of the United States there is an ideal climate and an ideal territory for the growing of the silkworm and the production of silk. All we need is the silkworm and the mulberry tree, and the mulberry tree grows wild, grows in abundance, grows luxuriantly, and grows without limit in my home State and throughout the South. I am sure that the culture of the silkworm can be introduced into the Southern States, and that we can become a self-sufficient Nation so far as the need for silk is concerned in this country, and that we will not have to buy it from Japan.

Mr. President, we are in exactly that situation in the case of tung oil. The manufacturers of linoleum, of paint, of varnish, and of enamel, have been importing from China from ten to fifteen million dollars worth of tung oil for many years. In the last few years we discovered that there were certain sections along the Gulf of Mexico where the soil and climate were ideal for the growing of the tung nut tree. Within the last 6 years there have been planted in my native home county, Pearl River County, over a hundred thousand acres to the tung nut tree, and in that county we have the largest tung nut plantation in the whole world. In that county we have the largest crushing plant in the world for extracting the oil from the tung nut

after it is grown. I repeat, the tung nut is being produced in commercial quantities, and there seems to be no limit. In the next few years we will not have to go to the Far East to get tung oil for use in the manufacture of varnish and paint and linoleum in this country. If we can produce tung oil in this country, and the climate is congenial, and is adapted to its production, why can we not produce raw silk in the United States? It is a very simple process.

In Japan, where raw silk is produced, there are government-owned moth farms where the eggs are produced. The farmers go to a moth farm and buy the requisite number of eggs, which have been laid by the moth. They take the eggs to a local incubator, and after 6 or 8 days an egg hatches, and there emerges a tiny worm about the size of an ant. The eggs are put upon the shelves, stacked in the humble homes of the Japanese farmers, and for 20 days the little worm is fed mulberry leaves, which food is what is needed to grow the silkworm.

At the end of 20 days this little ant-sized bug has become $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, is now the silkworm, and at the end of 20 days it begins to weave its cocoon, in which to store itself and undergo the period of transition and become the flitting, flying silken moth in the days to come.

At the end of the completion of the cocoon the humble Japanese farmer snatches his cocoon, dips it in hot water, and kills the worm before its transfiguration, or its day of resurrection, before it has a chance to rupture the cocoon. Then the cocoon is carried to the reeler, the factories, where girls with nimble fingers, with dexterity, find the end of the fine-spun filaments which the worm produces and emits from each side of his mouth, and seals together with a sericin. These girls find the ends of these filaments, they unweave the cocoon and wind the silk on a skein, and that is shipped to American as the raw silk.

Mr. President, it is a very simple process, and it is altogether feasible and possible in the United States, and there is no reason why, if we spend the millions of dollars suggested in trying to do something for the people, we should not inaugurate a project somewhere in the United States and encourage the growth and culture of the silkworm, and the production of raw silk in this country. In that way we can strike a death blow to that power which seems to have no respect for treaties, obligations, and the welfare of human beings in this country.

Mr. President, having been diverted for a moment from the pending measure, I wish to call the attention of the Senate and of the country to what is to my mind one of the ablest contributions to the question of the relationship between blacks and whites in the United States, an article written and published to the world in 1909 under the head "Is Friction Between Blacks and Whites in the United States Growing and Inevitable?" by Dr. Alfred Holt Stone.

Dr. Stone is one of the outstanding citizens of my State. He is now the distinguished chairman of all the taxing units of Mississippi. He has a doctor's degree from our State university. He has been a lecturer before all the leading universities of the country, and is without doubt one of the ablest students of the race question in America today. I want to call the attention of the Senate and of the country to this very splendid contribution to this very pertinent question. I read from his article:

On the evening of December 17, 1855, there assembled a gathering of the colored citizens of the city of Boston to do honor to a member of their race. The man was William C. Nell, a name familiar to students of Negro history. The occasion was the presentation to him of a testimonial of appreciation of his labors in behalf of the removal of the color line from the public schools of Boston. The event commemorated the crowning achievement of a purpose formed and work begun some 26 years before. It marked the close of a quarter-century of patient and unrelenting struggle with established law and custom. The meeting was made memorable by the presence of such men as Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison, who rejoiced with their colored brethren that "the prejudice against color was dying out." This was the keynote of all the addresses made—the faith that the final surrender of this long-stormed citadel marked the passing of the prejudice of race.

Fifty-two years later, in November of the present year, a great concourse of Boston's colored citizens assembled in Faneuil Hall to

protest against the steady and wide increase of race prejudice in America. The meeting was addressed by the gray-haired son of the great abolitionist, in tones which were far from sounding an echo of the hopeful, long-forgotten words of his father.

And after this more than half century of American advance in moral and intellectual and materials things we, too, have come together, in the free atmosphere of this academic seat, to consider coolly and dispassionately the causes which really lay behind these two meetings in Boston—farther apart in the spirit and in purpose than in time. We have come to inquire whether friction between the white and Negro races in America is growing and inevitable.

In the first place, what is race friction? To answer this elementary question it is necessary to define the abstract mental quality upon which race friction finally rests. This is racial "antipathy," popularly spoken of as "race prejudice." Whereas prejudice means a mere predilection, either for or against, antipathy means "natural contrariety," "incompatibility," or "repugnance of qualities." To quote the Century Dictionary, antipathy "expresses most of constitutional feeling and least of volition; it is a dislike that seems constitutional toward persons, things, conduct, etc.; hence it involves a dislike for which sometimes no good reason can be given." I would define racial antipathy then as a natural contrariety, repugnance of qualities, or incompatibility between individuals or groups which are sufficiently differentiated to constitute what, for want of a more exact term, we call races. What is most important is that it involves an instinctive feeling of dislike, distaste, or repugnance, for which sometimes no good reason can be given. Friction is defined primarily as a "lack of harmony," or a "mutual irritation." In the case of races it is accentuated by antipathy. We do not have to depend on race riots or other acts of violence as a measure of the growth of race friction. Its existence may be manifested by a look or a gesture, as well as by a word or an act.

Our contention is that race friction in the United States is gradually increasing all the time. It is a ceaseless warfare, and the battle is going on, it is increasing, getting keener, and more intense everywhere throughout the United States. It is a smoldering fire. Some day someone will strike a match and explode the mine, and there will be hell to pay, and Senators will begin to understand what I have been talking about for 4 days.

A verbal cause of much useless and unnecessary controversy is found in the use of the word "race." When we speak of "race problems" or "racial antipathies," what do we mean by "race?" Clearly nothing scientifically definite, since ethnologists themselves are not agreed upon any classification of the human family along racial lines. Nor would this so-called race prejudice have the slightest regard for such classification if one were agreed upon. It is something which is not bounded by the confines of a philological or ethnological definition. The British scientist may tell the British soldier in India that the native is in reality his brother, and that it is wholly absurd and illogical and unscientific for such a thing as "race prejudice" to exist between them. Tommy Atkins simply replies with a shrug that to him and his messmates the native is a "nigger," and insofar as their attitude is concerned that is the end of the matter.

That is the British soldier expressing his attitude toward the East Indian.

The same suggestion, regardless of the scientific accuracy of the parallel, if made to the American soldier in the Philippines, meets with the same reply. We have wasted an infinite amount of time in interminable controversies over the relative superiority and inferiority of different races. Such discussions have a certain value when conducted by scientific men in a purely scientific spirit. But for the purpose of explaining or establishing any fixed principle of race relations they are little better than worthless. The Japanese is doubtless quite well satisfied of the superiority of his people over the mushroom growths of western civilization, and finds no difficulty in borrowing from the latter whatever is worth reproducing, and improving on it in adapting it to his own racial needs. The Chinese do not waste their time in idle chatter over the relative status of their race, as compared with the white barbarians who have intruded themselves upon them with grotesque customs, their heathenish ideas, and their childishly new religion. The Hindu regards with veiled contempt the racial pretensions of his conqueror, and while biding the time when the darker races of the earth shall once more come into their own, does not bother himself with such an idle question as whether his temporary overlord is his racial equal. Only the white man writes volumes to establish on paper the fact of a superiority which is either self-evident and not in need of demonstration, on the one hand, or is not a fact and is not demonstrable, on the other. The really important matter is one about which there need be little dispute—the fact of racial differences. It is the practical question of differences—the fundamental differences of physical appearance, of mental habit and thought, of social customs and religious beliefs, of the thousand and one things keenly and clearly appreciable, yet sometimes elusive and undefinable—these are the things which at once create and find expression in what we call race problems and race prejudices, for want of better terms. In just so far as these differences are fixed and permanently associated characteristics of two groups of people will the antipathies and problems between the two be permanent. We speak loosely of the race problems which are the result of European immi-

gration. These are really not race problems at all. They are purely temporary problems, based upon temporary antipathies between different groups of the same race, which invariably disappear in one or two generations, and which form only a temporary barrier to physical assimilation by intermarriage with native stocks.

The United States has always been called the melting pot of the nations, and it is here that we have provided a haven of refuge for the oppressed, the depressed, and the enslaved of all the royal governments of Europe from the crowded conditions of Europe. They have come here by the millions. But we can amalgamate those people. We can afford to intermarry with those people. We can afford to assimilate them, because they are of the white stock. They are of the Aryan race. It is altogether a different proposition when it comes to the mixing or assimilation of the black race.

Probably the closest approach we shall ever make to a satisfactory classification of races as a basis of antipathy will be that of grouping men according to color, along certain broad lines, the color being accompanied by various and often widely different but always fairly persistent differentiating physical and mental characteristics. This would give us substantially the white (not Caucasian), the yellow (not Chinese or Japanese), and the dark (not Negro) races. The antipathies between these general groups and between certain of their subdivisions will be found to be essentially fundamental, but they will also be found to present almost endless differences of degrees of actual and potential acuteness. Here elementary psychology also plays its part. One of the subdivisions of the Negro race is composed of persons of mixed blood. In many instances these are more white than black, yet the association of ideas has through several generations identified them with the Negro—and in this country friction between this class and white people is on some lines even greater than between whites and blacks.

Race conflicts are merely the more pronounced concrete expression of such friction. They are the visible phenomena of the abstract quality of racial antipathy—the tangible evidence of the existence of racial problems. The form of such expressions of antipathy varies with the nature of the racial contact in each instance. Their different and widely varying aspects are the confusing and often contradictory phenomena of race relations. They are dependent upon diverse conditions and are no more susceptible of rigid and permanent classification than are the whims and moods of human nature. It is more than a truism to say that a condition precedent to race friction or race conflict is contact between sufficient numbers of two diverse racial groups. There is a definite and positive difference between contact between individuals and contact between masses. The association between two isolated individual members of two races may be wholly different from the contact between masses of the same race groups. The factor of numbers embraces indeed the very crux of the problems arising from contact between different races.

A primary cause of race friction is the vague, rather intangible, but wholly real feeling of "pressure" which comes to the white man almost instinctively in the presence of a mass of people of a different race. In a certain important sense, all racial problems are distinctly problems of racial distribution. Certainly the definite action of the controlling race, particularly as expressed in laws, is determined by the factor of the numerical difference between its population and that of the inferior group. This fact stands out prominently in the history of our colonial legislation for the control of Negro slaves. These laws increased in severity up to a certain point as the slave population increased in numbers. The same condition is disclosed in the history of the antebellum legislation of the Southern, Eastern, New England, and Middle Western States for the control of the free Negro population. So today no State in the Union would have separate car laws where the Negro constituted only 10 to 15 percent of its total population. No State would burden itself with the maintenance of two separate school systems with a Negro element of less than 10 percent. Means of local separation might be found, but there would be no expression of law on the subject.

Just as a heavy increase of Negro population makes for an increase of friction, direct legislation, the protection of drastic social customs, and a general feeling of unrest or uneasiness on the part of the white population, so a decrease of such population, or a relatively small increase as compared with the whites, makes for less friction, greater racial tolerance, and a lessening of the feeling of necessity for severely discriminating laws or customs. And this, quite aside from the fact of a difference of increase or decrease of actual points of contact, varying with differences of numbers. The statement will scarcely be questioned that the general attitude of the white race, as a whole, toward the Negro become much less uncompromising if we were to discover that through two census periods the race had shown a positive decrease in numbers. Racial antipathy would not decrease, but the conditions which provoke its outward expression would undergo a change for the better. There is a direct relation between the mollified attitude of the people of the Pacific coast toward the Chinese population and the fact that the Chinese population decreased between 1890 and 1900. There would in time be a difference of feeling toward the Japanese now there if the immigration of more were prohibited by treaty stipulation. There is the same immediate relation between the tolerant attitude of whites toward the natives in the Hawaiian Islands and

the feeling that the native is a decadent and dying race. Aside from the influence of the Indian's warlike qualities and of his refusal to submit to slavery, the attitude and disposition of the white race toward him have been influenced by considerations similar to those which today operate in Hawaii. And the same influence has been a factor in determining the attitude of the English toward the slowly dying Maoris of New Zealand.

The character and violence of race friction or conflict will depend upon the immediately provoking cause but will be influenced by a variety of accompanying considerations. Open manifestations of antipathy will be aggravated if each group feels its superiority over the other. They will be fewer and milder when one race accepts the position of inferiority outwardly, or really feels the superiority of the other. In all cases the element of individual or racial self-assertiveness plays an important part. The white man on the Pacific coast may insist that he does not feel anything like the race prejudice toward the Chinaman that he does toward the Japanese. In truth the antipathy is equal in either case, but the Chinaman accepts the position and imputation of inferiority—no matter what or how he may really feel beneath his passive exterior. On the other hand, the Japanese neither accepts the position nor plays the role of an inferior, and when attacked he does not run. Aside from all question of the relative commendable traits of the two races, it is easy to see that the characteristics of one group are much more likely than those of the other to provoke outbreaks of antipathy when brought into contact with the white race. We need not ask what would be the situation in India, and what the size of the British garrison there, if the Hindus had the assertive and pugnacious characteristics of the Japanese, veiled though the latter are behind a bland and smiling demeanor.

It is a common remark that the relations between the white and Negro races in this country are not "as good," as the expression runs, as they were before the war. The fundamental cause of most race friction is in the operation of racial antipathy which leads to the denial by one race of the racial equality of another, coupled with the assertion of equality by the other party to the contract. Postbellum racial difficulties are largely the manifestation of friction growing out of the novel claim to equality made by the Negro after emancipation, either by specific declaration and assertion, or by conduct which was equivalent to an open claim with the refusal of the white man to recognize the claim. The commonest mistake of race-problem discussions is that of treating such problems as a heritage from slavery. Slavery was responsible only insofar as it was responsible for bringing the races into contact. The institution, per se, was not only not the cause of the problem, but, on the other hand, it actually furnished a basis of contact which as long as it existed minimized the problems which result from racial contact upon a plane of theoretical equality. We may obtain a conception of an American race problem without the background of antecedent slavery relations, if we can imagine the situation which would be created by the precipitation upon the population of the Pacific coast of a million Japanese. The late Professor Shaler, of Harvard, summed up with absolute accuracy the function of slavery in making possible relations of mutual amity between the white and Negro races in this country when he declared that, "the one condition in which very diverse races may be brought into close social relations without much danger of hatred, destructive of social order, is when an inferior race is enslaved by a superior." His opinion was that "this form of union is stronger than it has appeared to those who have allowed their justifiable dislike of the relation to prejudice them as to its consequences."

Professor Shaler struck one of the keynotes of the ante-bellum situation when he said that slavery made impossible any sort of rivalry between the races. He declared his utter detestation of the institution, but said it should be recognized that "it was effective in the prevention of race hatreds." To quote his words:

"Moreover, it brought the two races into a position where there was no longer any instinctive repugnance to each other, derived from the striking differences of color or of form. If the Negroes had been cast upon this shore under any other conditions than those of slavery, they would have been unable to obtain this relation with the whites which their condition of bondage gave."

But Professor Shaler recognized the innate potential force of antipathy of race and he observed that "it remains to be seen whether the race hatred, which was essentially lost during the period of slavery, will return in the condition of freedom." Twenty-one years have elapsed since Professor Shaler wrote, and it is in the light of these two decades of additional experience that we are today attempting to answer his query.

It is impossible to discuss here, as I should like to do, the broader question of race relations as preliminary to an inquiry into relations in this country between whites and Negroes. We may, however, suggest some of the more elementary principles of such relations as a basis for reply to the concrete question before us. In the first place, I lay down as a fundamental law of racial contact the proposition that the terms and conditions of racial association will be dictated by the stronger of the two parties to such association, actuated by motives of self-interest or by instincts of self-preservation. In the second place, the resulting relations will be least conducive to friction when the terms insisted upon by the stronger race are accepted without protest by the weaker. The converse of this follows as a corollary, that the relations which are most conducive to friction are those under which the conditions laid down by the stronger party are not accepted by the weaker. The friction which racial contact engenders under such conditions will be in proportion to the degree

of the insistence of one party upon its terms of association and of the resistance to such conditions offered by the other.

The absence of antebellum racial friction was due to the general acceptance by the Negro of the status assigned him by the white race. The farther removed the two races are from this basis of association, which Professor Shaler declared to be the only one upon which they could safely have been brought together in the first place, the greater the probability that friction will follow contact between them. The whole matter resolves itself into very simple terms. The simpler the relations between diverse races, the less friction there will be; the more complex the relations, the greater the friction. The simplest relations possible are those in which the relative status of superior and inferior is mutually accepted as the historical, essential, and matter of fact basis of relationship between the two. The most complex relation possible between any two racial groups is that of a theoretic equality which one race denies and the other insists upon. The accepted relation of superior and inferior may exist not only without bitterness on one side, or harsh feelings upon the other, but it may be characterized by a sentiment and affection wholly impossible between the same groups under conditions demanding a recognition of so-called equality. We should try to gain a clear idea of the importance of this mutual recognition of a different racial status in minimizing racial friction, and of the significance of the converse condition in increasing it.

The northern white man often remarks upon the inconsistent position of the southern white man. The former objects more than the latter to personal contact and association with the Negro but theoretically, he is willing to grant to the Negro the full exercise of all the legal rights and privileges which he himself enjoys. The southern white man, on the other hand, does not object to personal association with the Negro—provided it be upon terms which contain no suggestion of equality of personal status—but he is not willing to grant the privileges which his northern brother concedes to the race in the mass. The truth is that the difference between their respective attitudes is largely a matter of fiction. It is more apparent than real. The attitude of the northern man toward the matter of personal association is really the natural attitude of the white man. It is the unconscious expression or feeling of instinctive racial antipathy in its elementary form.

The attitude of the southern man toward the same association is in reality the wholly artificial product of the relations made possible by slavery. The northern man prides himself on not "looking down on the Negro," as the expression goes. He regards him unconsciously as theoretically, potentially his racial equal. His unconscious mental attitude does not immediately upon personal contact establish between himself and the Negro the relation of superior and inferior. He is conscious only of strangeness, difference. But in the presence of this difference his mind reacts normally, and a sufficient degree of latent antipathy is aroused to create a natural barrier, which he merely "feels" and does not attempt to explain. On the other hand, through the influence of generations of association under the purely artificial relations of slavery, the mind of the southern white man instinctively responds to accustomed contact upon inherited lines with the unconscious concept of an inequality of racial status which neutralizes or prevents the operation of racial antipathy. In other words, to borrow Professor Shaler's illustration of the operation of slavery in destroying race hatred, the long-continued association has destroyed the normal operation of elementary racial antipathy. In its primary form it is simply not provoked by an association to which it has long become accustomed. It may be asked at once, if such association has been sufficient thus to impair what is claimed to be an instinctive mental impulse, and not only to do this but to establish in lieu of such a feeling relations and sentiments of genuine and unquestioned affection, why it is not able to destroy all racial antipathy and thereby in time enable the races to live together in absolute concord? Where is the ground for even the possibility of increased racial friction? The answer is not difficult. The potential results of long-continued racial contact and association may be fully granted for the sake of discussion. But the question is the primary one of accomplishing the association. Our original proposition is that racial harmony is greater under an association determined by one party and accepted by the other. This was precisely what made for such relations under slavery. But slavery is dead, and with the passing of the generation of whose life it was an accepted part, both black and white, the relations which it slowly evolved are passing also. A new basis of contact is presented—that of unconditional equality. It is a basis which the white race is not willing to concede in practice, whatever the white man may do in theory, and hence we have the essential elements of racial friction—a demand for and a denial of racial equality.

Whether or not race friction in the United States is increasing and inevitable depends upon the attitude of the two parties to the racial contact. Does the American Negro demand racial equality, and does the American white man deny it? The latter branch of the question we shall attempt to answer first. Racial antipathy, which we have said to be the basis for the "lack of harmony," and the "mutual irritation," which we translate as race friction, is practically universal on the part of the white race toward the Negro, and is beyond question stronger in the so-called Anglo-Saxon stocks than in any other. If it is less apparent in one place than in another, the difference is a mere incident to differences of local condition. It is protean in its manifestation—and subject to such a variety of provoking causes as to defy classification. It is exhibited here in the individual, and there in the mass, and elsewhere in

both. One man may draw the line against association in a public conveyance, another at the relations of the domestic service. One may draw it in the public dining room of a hotel, another at his private table. One man or one section may draw it in the public schools, another only in fashionable establishments for fashionable young women, or in private academies for boys. Here and there we find a man who realizes no feeling at such contact, and he imagines himself to be "free from race prejudice." But even for him there exists the point of racial recoil, though it may be reached only at the altar or the grave. It is, after all, merely a difference of degree. Racial antipathy is a present, latent force in us all. As to this we need not deceive ourselves.

At no time in the history of the English-speaking people and at no place, of which we have any record, where large numbers of them have been brought into contact with an approximately equal number of Negroes, have the former granted to the latter absolute equality, either political, social, or economic. With the exception of five New England States, with a total Negro population of only 16,084 in 1860, every State in the Union discriminated against the Negro politically before the Civil War. The white people continued to do so—North as well as South—as long as they retained control of the suffrage regulations of their States. The determination to do so renders one whole section of the country practically a political unit to this day.

In South Africa we see the same determination of the white man to rule, regardless of the numerical superiority of the black. The same determination made Jamaica surrender the right of self-government and renders her satisfied with a hybrid political arrangement today. The presence of practically 100,000 Negroes in the District of Columbia makes 200,000 white people content to live under an anomaly in a self-governing country. The proposition is too elementary for discussion, that the white man, when confronted with a sufficient number of Negroes to create in his mind a sense of political unrest or danger, either alters this form of government in order to be rid of the incubus or destroys the political strength of the Negro by force, by evasion, or by direct action.

If we survey the field of economic contact we find but one considerable area in which the white man permits the Negro to share his occupancy practically upon equal terms. That field is the southern part of the United States. The unusual conditions there are the direct and immediate product of relations established or made possible by slavery, coupled with the maintenance of a rigid color line, which minimizes, if it does not prevent, racial friction. This condition, like the other purely artificial products of slavery favorable to amicable race relations, is changing, and will disappear with the increased tendency toward general uniformity of labor conditions and demands throughout the country. Such measures of freedom of economic opportunity as the Negro has is not due to any superior virtue on the part of southern people any more than is the larger political tolerance of the North due to any peculiar virtue of that section. Each situation is a mere incident of general racial conditions. Outside the South, whether in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, the Middle West, or New England, the absence of economic racial friction is due to the economic segregation of the Negro.

The race outside the South is in the main confined to humbler occupations, where the absence of white competition makes for racial peace. I am speaking of the many, not of the exceptional few, who here and there are not discriminated against. What is true of the North is true of South Africa. Economically, every country apparently is either a "white man's country" or "black man's country." It does not exist half one and half the other—always excepting the South. In South Africa the great problem is to get white men to work at trades with black men or to permit black men to work at them at all. The white colonist either monopolizes a field himself—despite the fact that his numbers render the effort ruinous—or he permits the Negro to monopolize it. He will not share it equally.

But it is in the sphere of relations which the world calls social that the white man's attitude toward the Negro becomes most uncompromising—at least the attitude of the English-speaking white man. This, too, is universal. This social prejudice is no respecter of geographical lines. Its intensity varies, of course, with local influences—primarily with differences of numerical distribution. But that is a mere superficial consideration. This form of "race prejudice," if we elect so to designate it, is probably more fundamental and far reaching than any other.

The fact is clearly recognized by Prof. Kelly Miller, of Howard University, who says:

"Where two races of widely different corporal peculiarities and cultivated qualities are brought into contact serious frictional problems inevitably arise. . . . The American Negro may speak the same language, conform to the same institutions, and adopt the same mode of religious worship as the rest of his fellow men, but it avails him nothing in the scale of social eligibility, which is the one determinative test of all true equality. . . . Without social equality, which the Teuton is sworn to withhold from the darker races, no other form of equality is possible."

I shall add this further reflection: If slavery is the cause of race prejudice, why has slavery not produced it among the Arabs toward their Negro slaves? Slavery is not the cause, nor is the Christian religion its cure, nor does Mohammedanism or Catholicism prevent it. The reason of its nonexistence among the Mohammedans is not because of Mohammedanism, but because the Mohammedan is an Arab or a Moor. It does exist among the Berbers of Morocco, notwithstanding their Moslem faith. These

Berbers are not only prejudiced against the Negroes, but their prejudice has created continual unrest in Morocco, through their refusal to acknowledge fully the present sultan because of his Negro blood. The reason that this prejudice is less pronounced in Catholic than in Protestant countries is because of the fact that the Catholic countries which have had most to do with Negroes are mainly Latin countries, and the Latin's prejudice of color is nowhere as strong as the Teuton's. Under similar racial conditions the Catholic Teuton is just as much influenced by racial antipathy as his Protestant brother. It is not a question of religion or slavery, of Protestantism or Catholicism. It is finally and fundamentally a question of race.

In spite of all our protestations of democracy, the people of this country are not superior in their racial charity to the people of other parts of the world. I question if we are even as liberal in that regard as the average of Caucasian mankind. I sometimes feel that the very democracy among American white men of which we boast so much develops a concomitant intolerance toward men of another race or color. Without other fixed or established distinctions in our social order, we seem instinctively to take refuge in that of color as an enduring line of separation between ourselves and another class. Now and then, as the southern part of our country comes to be more dispassionately studied, an occasional observer will find himself puzzled by the conclusion that among its white population the South, taken as a whole, is the most democratic part of America. In the presence of the Negro, and by contrast and comparison, all white men are equal. A horizontal racial line is drawn between the two sections of the population.

All on one side of the line are conceded certain privileges and a certain status, based not upon merit but solely upon the accident of color. To the whole group on the other side of the line a certain status is assigned solely because of identity with another racial class. In each case what should be controlling differences within each group, along certain fairly tangible lines, are wholly ignored. In steadily increasing degree, it seems to me, certain privileges and a certain place in the larger life of the country are coming to be regarded as the peculiar and particular asset of Caucasian racial affiliation.

We have seen the fulfilling of De Tocqueville's prophecy that emancipation would be but the beginning of America's racial problems. The history of the world is a more open book today than it was a half or three-quarters of a century ago, and we have a larger perspective of racial contact. One of the editors of the *Wealth of Nations* has justly said that Adam Smith was instrumental in bringing different nations and cities closer together through a realization of their interdependence. But there is apparently a line which distantly related races cannot yet cross in safety. Such races have been brought into more intimate contact since the great economist lived, and the association has given rise to problems unknown to his generation, yet probably as old as the time when the first two groups of strangers on earth came together in suspicion and distrust. The diverse people of the world do not yet understand each other. Perhaps they never will. We have no excuse if we willfully blind ourselves to the stubborn facts in human experience, and persist in regarding racial antipathy, or "race prejudice," as a mere passing relic of slavery, peculiar to one part of the country. We can make no progress even in the comprehension of our problem if we circumscribe our vision by any such narrow view. It was Jefferson's opinion that the emancipation of the American Negroes was one of the inevitable events of the future. It was also his conviction that the two races could never live together as equals on American soil. His solution was colonization, but the time for that had probably passed when he wrote. As late as 1862 Lincoln expressed practically the same opinion as Jefferson. To a delegation of Negroes he said:

"You and we are different races. * * * Your race is suffering, in my judgment, the greatest wrong inflicted on any people. But even when you cease to be slaves, you are yet far removed from being placed on an equality with the white race. * * * The aspiration of men is to enjoy equality with the best when free, but on this continent, not a single man of your race is made the equal of a single man of ours. Go where you are treated the best, and the ban is still upon you."

To me the problems of racial contact, of which friction is but one, seem as inevitable as apparently they did to DeTocqueville and Jefferson and Lincoln. But I have no solution, because of my conviction that in a larger, final sense there is no solution of such problems, except the separation of the races or the absorption of one by the other. And in no proper conception is either of these a "solution." We do not solve a problem in geometry by wiping from the blackboard the symbols which are the visible expression of its terms. The question which the American people must first be prepared to answer, if they demand a solution of their problem, is whether, within a period which may practically be considered, they will grant to another race, darker, physically different, and permanently distinguished from themselves, all and singular the rights, titles, and privileges which they themselves enjoy, with full and complete measure of equality in all things, absolutely as well as theoretically. If they can do this, they will reverse the whole history of their own people, and until they do it, not only will there be race friction here, but it will increase as the weaker race increases its demands for the equality which it is denied.

Thus we return to the first branch of our inquiry—the attitude of the Negro as one of the determining factors in the increase or decrease of race friction. It is more difficult to answer for him

than for the white man. The latter has a history in the matter of his relations with other races, perfectly well defined to anyone who will study it candidly. He has either ruled or ruined, to express it in a few words, and pretty often he has done both. It has been frequently said that the Negro is the only one of the inferior, or weaker, or backward, or undeveloped races (the terms are largely interchangeable and not all important), which has ever looked the white man in the face and lived. But for all the significance the statement holds, we have only to go to Aesop's fable of the tree which would, and the tree which would not bend before the storm. I know of no race in all history which possesses in equal degree the marvelous power of adaptability to conditions which the Negro has exhibited through many centuries and in many places. His undeveloped mental state has made it possible for him to accept conditions, and to increase and be content under them, which a more highly organized and sensitive race would have thrown off, or destroyed itself in the effort to do so. This ability to accept the status of slavery and to win the affection and regard of the master race, and gradually but steadily to bring about an amelioration of the conditions of the slave status made possible the anomalous and really not yet understood race relations of the ante bellum South. The plain English of the situation was that the Negro did not chafe or fret and harass himself to death, where the Indian would have done so, or massacred the white man as an alternative. In many respects the Negro is a model prisoner—the best in this country. He accepts the situation, generally speaking; bears no malice, cherishes no ill will or resentment, and is cheerful under conditions to which the white man refuses to reconcile himself.

The adaptability of the Negro has an immediate bearing on the question before us. It explains why the Negro masses in the Southern States are content with their situation, or at least not disturbing themselves sufficiently over it to attempt to upset the existing order. In the main, the millions in the South live at peace with their white neighbors. The masses, just one generation out of slavery and thousands of them still largely controlled by its influences, accept the superiority of the white race, as a race, whatever may be their private opinion of some of its members. And, furthermore, they accept this relation of superior and inferior, as a mere matter of course—as part of their lives—as something neither to be questioned, wondered at, or worried over. Despite apparent impressions to the contrary, the average southern white man gives no more thought to the matter than does the Negro. As I tried to make clear at the outset, the status of superior and inferior is simply an inherited part of his instinctive mental equipment—a concept which he does not have to reason out. The respective attitudes are complementary, and under the mutual acceptance and understanding there still exist unnumbered thousands of instances of kindly and affectionate relations—relations of which the outside world knows nothing and understands nothing. In a Boston colored magazine some months since, Miss Augusta P. Eaton gives an account of her settlement work among Negroes in that city. In describing relations where colored and white families live in contact, she says, "The great bond of fellowship is never fully established. There is tolerance, but I have found few cases of friendly intimacy." Here is just the difference between the two situations. "Friendly intimacies," probably not in the sense meant by Miss Eaton but friendly and kindly intimacies, nonetheless, do exist in the South, despite all we hear to the contrary. They are the leaven of hope and comfort for white and black alike in what does appear to be a pretty big lump of discord. In the mass, the southern Negro has not bothered himself about the ballot for more than 20 years, not since his so-called political leaders let him alone; he is not disturbed over the matter of separate schools and cars, and he neither knows nor cares anything about "social equality."

I believe there may develop in process of time and evolution a group of contented people, occupying a position somewhat analogous to that of the Jamaican peasant class, satisfied in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and afforded the full protection of the law. I believe it possible for each of the various groups of the two races which find themselves in natural juxtaposition to arrive at some basis of common occupancy of their respective territories which shall be mutually satisfactory, even if not wholly free from friction. I express a belief that this is possible, but to its accomplishment there is one absolute condition precedent; they must be let alone and they must be given time. It must be realized and accepted, whether we like it or not, that there is no cut-and-dried solution of such problems, and that they cannot be solved by resolutions or laws. The process must be gradual and it must be normal, which means that the final basis of adjustment must be worked out by the immediate parties in interest. It may be one thing in one place and another thing in another place, just as the problem itself differs with differences of local conditions and environment. We must realize that San Francisco is not Boston, that New Orleans is not New York. Thus much for the possibilities as to rank and file.

But what of the other class? The "masses" is at best an unsatisfactory and indefinite term. It is very far from embracing even the southern Negro, and we need not forget that 7 years ago there were 900,000 members of the race living outside of the South. What of the class, mainly urban and large in number, who have lost the typical habit and attitude of the Negro of the mass, and who, more and more, are becoming restless, and chafing under existing conditions? There is an intimate and very natural relation between the social and intellectual advance of the

so-called Negro and the matter of friction along social lines. It is in fact only as we touch the higher groups that we can appreciate the potential results of contact upon a different plane from that common to the masses in the South.

There is a large and steadily increasing group of men, more or less related to the Negro by blood and wholly identified with him by American social usage, who refuse to accept quietly the white man's attitude toward the race. I appreciate the mistake of laying too great stress upon the utterances of any one man or group of men, but the mistake in this case lies the other way. The American white man knows little or nothing about the thought and opinion of the colored men and women who today largely mold and direct Negro public opinion in this country. Even the white man who considers himself a student of "the race question" rarely exhibits anything more than profound ignorance of the Negro's side of the problem. He does not know what the other man is thinking and saying on the subject. This composite type which we poetically call "black," but which in reality is every shade from black to white, is slowly developing a consciousness of its own racial solidarity. It is finding its own distinctive voice, and through its own books and papers and magazines, and through its own social organizations, is at once giving utterance to its discontent and making known its demands.

And with this dawning consciousness of race there is likewise coming an appreciation of the limitations and restrictions which hem in its unfolding and development. One of the best indices to the possibilities of the increased racial friction is the Negro's own recognition of the universality of the white man's racial antipathy toward him.

This is the one clear note above the storm of protest against the things that are, that in his highest aspirations everywhere the white man's "prejudice" blocks the colored man's path. And the white man may with possible profit pause long enough to ask the deeper significance of the Negro's finding of himself. May it not be only part of a general awakening of the darker races of the earth? Captain H. A. Wilson, of the English Army, says that through all Africa there has penetrated in some way a vague confused report that far off somewhere, in the unknown, outside world, a great war has been fought between a white and a yellow race and won by the yellow man. And even before the Japanese-Russian conflict, "Ethiopianism" and the cry of "Africa for the Africans" had begun to disturb the English in South Africa. It is said time and again that the dissatisfaction and unrest in India are accentuated by the results of this same war. There can be no doubt in the mind of any man who carefully reads American Negro journals that their rejoicing over the Japanese victory sounded a very different note from that of the white American. It was far from being a mere expression of sympathy with a people fighting for national existence against a power which had made itself odious to the civilized world by its treatment of its subjects. It was, instead, a quite clear cry of exultation over the defeat of a white race by a dark one. The white man is no wiser than the ostrich if he refuses to see the truth that in the possibilities of race friction the Negro's increasing consciousness of race is to play a part scarcely less important than the white man's racial antipathies, prejudices, or whatever he may elect to call them.

In its final analysis, the sum and substance of the ultimate demand of those Americans of African descent whose mental attainments and social equipment identify them much more closely with the Anglo Saxon than with the Negro masses is definitely and clearly stated in the words of Dr. Dubois:

"There is left the last alternative—the raising of the Negro in America to full rights and citizenship. And I mean by this no halfway measure; I mean full and fair equality. That is, the chance to obtain work, regardless of color; to aspire to position and preferment on the basis of desert alone; to have the right to use public conveniences; to enter public places of amusement on the same terms as other people; and to be received socially by such persons as might wish to receive them. These are not extravagant demands, and yet their granting means the abolition of the color line. The question is, Can American Negroes hope to attain to this result?"

With equal clearness and precision, and with full comprehension of its larger meaning and significance and ultimate possibilities, the American white man answers the question in the language of another eminent American sociologist, Prof. Edward A. Ross, in contrasting the attitudes of Anglo-Saxons and Latins toward other races on this continent, says:

"The superiority of a race cannot be preserved without pride of blood and an uncompromising attitude toward the lower races. . . . Whatever may be thought of the (latter) policy, the net result is that North America, from the Bering Sea to the Rio Grande, is dedicated to the highest type of civilization; while for centuries the rest of our hemisphere will drag the ball and chain of hybridism."

And thus the issue is joined. And thus also perhaps we find an answer to our own question whether racial friction in this country is increasing and inevitable.

There is the whole story of civil rights in the North.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICE. Does the Senator from Mississippi yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. BILBO. I shall be delighted to yield for a question. Mr. BARKLEY. The question is: Is the Senator from Mississippi ready to suspend at this hour?

Mr. BILBO. I shall be happy to suspend if I may continue tomorrow, because I have just started.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I understand that that means that the Senator requests unanimous consent that suspending his remarks now shall not interfere with the continuation of his speech.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there any objection to the Senator from Mississippi proceeding tomorrow?

Mr. CONNALLY. Without yielding.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without losing the floor.

Mr. CONNALLY. Without prejudicing at all his right to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there any objection?

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I inquire whether it is the intention of the Senator from Mississippi to hold the floor against some Senator who may wish to speak on the other side of this question?

Mr. BILBO. I have no evidence of any anxiety on the part of the proponents of the measure to explain it to the Senate.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, in that connection I desire to say that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. GUFFEY] has advised me that he would like to speak briefly tomorrow, probably for 30 minutes; and I suppose an arrangement may be made by which the Senator from Mississippi will yield for that purpose without in any way prejudicing himself.

Mr. CONNALLY. Reserving the right to object—

Mr. BARKLEY. I am not making any request at all, because it is an arrangement that must be made between Senators.

Mr. CONNALLY. The Senator from Texas is rather astounded that the Senator from New York should make even a tentative objection to this procedure, because of the fact that the other day the Senator from Texas was somewhat instrumental in having the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] give way and relinquish the floor in order that the Senator from New York might speak when, if, and how it was convenient to him. Now the Senator from New York asks that the Senator from Mississippi, instead of finishing his speech, shall stop and give way to some other Senator who has had 4 weeks in which to speak, and who during that time has been well and able and husky. The Senator from Texas is astonished that any Senator should insist on that sort of procedure.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I think the Senator from Texas misunderstood me. I understand that the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. GUFFEY] desires to address the Senate, if possible, tomorrow. I simply asked the Senator from Mississippi—I think it was a very polite question—whether he intended to hold the floor all day tomorrow, or whether he would agree to give way to the Senator from Pennsylvania if he desired to address the Senate. I think that was not an impolite question to ask.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands that the Senator from Mississippi will gladly yield, provided he does not lose the floor. Is that correct?

Mr. BILBO. Yes. I have made arrangements to finish the discussion of this subject in about 27 days. I shall be glad, though, to yield in the meantime to a speech from any Senator who wishes to bring us some information on the subject matter of the bill.

Mr. BARKLEY. In view of the fact that the Senator from Mississippi has just advised the Senate that he has 27 days more of his speech, it occurred to me that probably any Senator who might obtain an opportunity to speak on the subject on either side would have to do it through an arrangement with the Senator from Mississippi, who would yield to any Senator who wanted to speak more briefly, provided it was not taken out of his 27 days.

Mr. CONNALLY. Reserving further the right to object, I suggest that that is a matter which can be arranged on

tomorrow. If the Senator from Mississippi desires to give way to the Senator from Pennsylvania, well and good. I shall make no objection; but when the Senator from Mississippi has the floor, and is still making his speech, I do not see any reason why he should give way to some other Senator.

Mr. BILBO. I hope to finish this particular line of thought and give the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. GUFFEY] an opportunity to speak tomorrow.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I hope the leader on this side will also take note of the statement of the Senator from Mississippi that he proposes to hold the floor for 27 days.

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes; I did take note of it, with the suggestion that if any other Senator wants to make a speech within that time it will have to be through an arrangement with the Senator from Mississippi, who is threatening a 27-day oration to the Senate.

I am satisfied that there will be no difficulty in arranging the matter between the Senator from Mississippi and the Senator from Pennsylvania or any other Senator who wishes to speak on the subject. So much complaint has been made because the proponents of the bill have not been willing to speak that certainly there ought not to be any objection when one of them comes forth and offers to uphold his side of this question.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, let me say that no one objects to Senators speaking who wish to advocate the bill; but we think they are no better than other Senators, and that they ought to get the floor in the regular way, as other Senators have done. Merely because a Senator is going to speak for the bill, we see no reason why a traffic escort should march through the Senate and wave out of the way all those who are opposed to the bill and give him preferred time and preferred place.

There is no one in the Senate whom I would rather hear speak for the bill than the Senator who is expected to speak tomorrow.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, I desire to announce that the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] wishes to speak tomorrow, if the opportunity shall offer itself.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, has the request been submitted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The request has been submitted. The Senator from Mississippi will have the floor tomorrow. There was no objection.

Mr. CONNALLY. The Senator may proceed without being interfered with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is the agreement.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR ARTICLE ENTITLED "U. S. A. DOES AUSTRALIA A SECRET SERVICE"

Mr. NYE. Mr. President, would the Senator from Kentucky have any objection to the presentation of a resolution to lie on the table, and the offering of certain documents in support of the resolution?

Mr. BARKLEY. What is the nature of the resolution?

Mr. NYE. I send it to the desk and ask to have it read. It is very brief.

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not think I have objection to the offering of the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be read for the information of the Senate.

The resolution (S. Res. 230) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of State is requested to ascertain, through such channels as may be at his command, the authority or responsibility for the article entitled "U. S. A. Does Australia a Secret Service," appearing in the Australian newspaper "Smiths Weekly" of October 16, 1937, and report his findings to the Senate of the United States, if not incompatible with the public interest.

Mr. NYE. I ask that the resolution lie on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will lie on the table.

Mr. NYE. Mr. President, in connection with the resolution I should like to call to the attention of the Senate a rather amazing disclosure which comes from an Australian

newspaper under date of Saturday, October 16, 1937, the publication being Smiths Weekly, which is very widely read. The front page of this particular issue is given over to a lengthy detail under the heading—

United States of America does Australia a secret service—Amelia Earhart search made the opportunity—Plane observers over Japanese Pacific bases—Tip was given our defense department.

The story proceeds to reveal that our Navy had gone out of its way during the Amelia Earhart search and had spied, so to speak, upon certain Japanese bases; moreover, that the information which the Navy obtained was shared with the British Admiralty.

When this matter first came to my attention I conveyed the evidence to the Secretary of State and to the Secretary of the Navy, and asked whether the report as published was authentic. I received from each of them a declaration that no such practice had been undertaken, that no information had been obtained to share with the British Admiralty or any other foreign officials. There is left in my mind, however, the question of what force is at work in our country and in other countries to build and breed fear and suspicion of one another to the end that there may be a larger indulging in the present-day international armament race.

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Record in connection with my remarks the story as published in Smiths Weekly, to which I have referred, an article appearing in the Philadelphia Inquirer of yesterday, Sunday, February 6, my letters of inquiry to the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Navy, and their responses thereto.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, in connection with the resolution offered by the Senator—although I do not care to discuss it at this time—it seems to me that, with all the burdens already on the Secretary of State, it is asking him to undertake a good deal to make an investigation as to the responsibility for and authorship of some article appearing in an Australian newspaper or magazine. Why center on the Secretary of State to find out who wrote the article?

Mr. NYE. The inquiry centers on the Secretary of State on the assumption that he is the only one having access to such channels as might reveal the information desired.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, why does not the Senator from North Dakota withhold this material until some action is had on his resolution? I do not see that this kind of publication is at all helpful to the foreign relations of the United States, as tending to our peace and to good fellowship between nations. I do not know what the material is. It seems to be some rignmarole about an article published in Australia raising some questions against our Government. I think we ought to wait for action on the resolution before the material is published in the Record.

Mr. NYE. Mr. President, I think the information should be in the Record for use when the resolution is considered.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I think there is merit in the suggestion of the Senator from Texas. Personally I should like to have an opportunity to examine the material which the Senator desires to have inserted in the Record, and if he will withhold it until tomorrow, I may have no objection to it; but it is impossible to guess at what an article coming from Australia, with the implications carried in it, may convey. I do not know that there will be any serious objection to it being printed. Certainly the resolution offered by the Senator would not come up tomorrow, at any rate.

Mr. NYE. Certainly not.

Mr. BARKLEY. So that no time will be lost by withholding the material.

Mr. NYE. I have no objection to the Senator from Kentucky having access to the material, but I think it ought to be made a part of the Record so that other Members of the Senate may see what its general nature is. I may say that the publication of no part of it would reflect in any degree upon our own Government, or any official of it.

Mr. BARKLEY. I hope the Senator will not insist on its publication today. I should like to look it over.

Mr. NYE. Would the Senator object to having the letters from the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Navy printed in the RECORD?

Mr. BARKLEY. They do not pertain to this Australian article, do they?

Mr. NYE. They pertain to the same article.

Mr. BARKLEY. I think, if they are to be inserted in the RECORD, all the matter should go in together.

Mr. NYE. Very well.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ELLENDER in the chair), as in executive session, laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

RECESS

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 17 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Tuesday, February 8, 1938, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate February 7 (legislative day of January 5), 1938

COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS

Fountain Rothwell, of University City, Mo., to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 45, with headquarters at St. Louis, Mo. (Reappointment.)

Adrian Pool, of El Paso, Tex., to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 24, with headquarters at El Paso, Tex. (Reappointment.)

REGISTER OF LAND OFFICE

Ellis Purlee, of California, to be register of the Land Office at Sacramento, Calif. Reappointment.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

Assistant Dental Surgeon Dwight K. Shellman to be passed assistant dental surgeon in the United States Public Health Service, to rank as such from March 1, 1938.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE REGULAR ARMY

MEDICAL ADMINISTRATIVE CORPS

To be second lieutenants with rank from date of appointment

Second Lt. Leonard Paul Zagelow, Infantry Reserve.

George Henry Wilson.

James Wheeler McCormley.

Ernest William Bye.

John Valdo Painter.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY

Commander Joel W. Bunkley to be a captain in the Navy, to rank from the 3d day of June 1937.

The following-named lieutenant commanders to be commanders in the Navy, to rank from the 1st day of December 1937:

Joseph J. Clark

Albert M. Bledsoe

Lt. Corydon H. Kimball to be a lieutenant commander in the Navy, to rank from the 1st day of December 1937.

Lt. (junior grade) John W. Davison to be a lieutenant in the Navy, to rank from the 3d day of June 1937.

Ensign Warren S. Macleod to be a lieutenant (junior grade) in the Navy, to rank from the 31st day of May 1937.

Assistant Paymaster Jack O. Wheat to be a passed assistant paymaster in the Navy, with the rank of lieutenant, to rank from the 30th day of June 1937.

MARINE CORPS

Maj. John T. Walker to be a lieutenant colonel in the Marine Corps from the 1st day of December 1937.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1938

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Strong Son of God, Immortal Love, make us partakers of the strength and tenderness which Thou hadst before the world was; give glad assurance to each heart. O Thou who hast brought us safely to the beginning of this day, our souls wait for Thee. We pray Thee to make us worthy of Thy continued love and mercy and faithful to our calling. Lord God of the nations, let not Thy voice die away in the disconsolate and empty spaces of this world. Let there come a mighty spiritual power from Thy throne. Oh, give deliverance and make the wrath of men to praise Thee and save them from the tyrannies of war. Do Thou preserve Thy people forever against any government by massacre. We beseech Thee in these times of crises, hold our fellow citizens in the unity of patience, forbearance, and in the spirit of the Carpenter of Nazareth. Almighty God, upon our President, our Speaker, and the Congress have devolved great and even weary responsibilities. Do Thou preserve their strength and sustain them with sure directive wisdom. In the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Friday, February 4, 1938, was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate disagrees to the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 371) entitled "An act for the relief of William R. Kellogg," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. BAILEY, Mr. LOGAN, and Mr. CAPPER to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Secretary be directed to return to the House of Representatives, in compliance with its request, the engrossed bill (S. 2194) to provide for the semiannual inspection of all motor vehicles in the District of Columbia, together with the engrossed House amendments thereto.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include therein an address delivered by Gen. Julian Schley, Chief of Engineers, before the Mississippi Valley Flood Control Association in Washington on January 19, 1938, and also an address delivered by him on January 20 before the Rivers and Harbors Congress, Washington, D. C.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

THE FARM BILL

Mr. JONES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the conferees may have until midnight tonight to file a conference report on the bill H. R. 8505, the farm bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. SNELL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would not have any definite objection to the conferees having until midnight to file the report, provided we may have some understanding as to when the matter will be brought up and that we will have a reasonable time to discuss it. This is a rather unusual situation, because it is practically a new bill of one hundred and twenty-odd pages, and the House is entitled to reasonable time to know what is in the bill in order to determine what finally to do with it.

Mr. JONES. It is not quite a new bill. It has some changes. A print was made and has been available in the document room since Saturday morning. This contains provisions of the bill. In order to have it before the Members of the House we announced to the House there would be